3-1-1977

JMU Bulletin, March, 1977

James Madison University (Harrisonburg, Va.)

The James Madison Journal

Volume XXXV, Number 3, 1977

JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

Accredited by: Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education for Preparation of Elementary Teachers and Secondary Teachers with the Master's Degree as the Highest Degree Offered, Virginia State Board of Education, National Association of Schools of Music.

Member of: Association of American Colleges, Association of Virginia Colleges, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, American Council on Education, National Commission on Accrediting, American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Corporate Member of: American Association of University Women.

THE JAMES MADISON JOURNAL

JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY
HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA

Volume XXXV, Number 3, 1977

EDITORIAL BOARD 1976-77

CONTENTS

	Page
BRYAN AND INGERSOLL ON RELIGION: A PARADOX IN AUDIENCE RESPONSE ..... *F. H. Goodyear and Rex M. Fuller*	5
SOME PROBLEMS WITH DISCOUNTING TECHNIQUES IN COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS IN THE CASE OF THE WESTERN COAL LANDS ..... *Raymond Prince*	16
PLASMA HEATING BY MAGNETO-ELECTRO-STATIC TRAPPING OF HIGH ENERGY IONS .. *K.N. Leung, K. Saadatmand, G.R. Taylor and R.E. Kribel*	23
MILTON, POPE, AND DIVINE HARMONY: NOTES ON THE SECULARIZATION OF THEODICY ... . *Robert F. Geary*	33
CONTROL OF PROFESSIONALS IN ORGANIZATIONS: PROFESSIONAL VERSUS BUREAUCRATIC MODELS ..... *Jackson E. Ramsey*	46
SELF-DEFINITION IN *MANSFIELD PARK* AND JOAN DIDION'S *PLAY IT AS IT LAYS* .... *Patricia D. Anderson*	58
THE INFLUENCE OF PARTY POLITICS UPON PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION GOVERNANCE AND POLICY IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1910-1947 ... . *William P. Jackameit*	67
RESEARCH ABSTRACTS	
REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP HOSTILITY IN THE CLASSROOM ..... *Virginia A. Andreoli*	83
MULTIMEDIA GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY .... *James Butler*	87
GAS CHROMATOGRAPHIC SEPARATION AND ANALYSIS OF ZIRCONIUM AND HAFNIUM ..... *James J. Leary*	89
A CLASS OF UNIFORM BANDS ... *Janet E. Mills*	92

BRYAN AND INGERSOLL ON RELIGION: A PARADOX IN AUDIENCE RESPONSE

by

F. H. Goodyear and Rex M. Fuller
Department of Communication Arts

Because they were of opposing political affiliations and because they expressed almost completely opposite views of religion, William Jennings Bryan and Robert Green Ingersoll are often considered to have spoken to entirely different audiences. Rhetorical critics have traditionally treated these two orators as spokesmen of two distinct eras of American oratory.[1] However, the public speaking careers of Ingersoll (1833-1899) and Bryan (1860-1925) overlapped significantly. Although Ingersoll was twenty-seven years older than Bryan, the twelve years between 1887, when Bryan first gained national attention, and 1899, the death of Ingersoll, represent a period of lively oratory and public debate. The assumption that Bryan and Ingersoll spoke to different audiences is perhaps misleading and fails to account for the immense popularity of these two men among the common people for whom religion and politics were important considerations.

Using an array of methods, ranging from Aristotles's doctrine of *ethos* to experimental investigations of credibility, critics have attempted to determine what qualities attract and hold a speaker's followers. Most critics would agree that the religious views and opinions a speaker expresses are an important factor. The theory of cognitive dissonance suggests than an audience could not receive with equal enthusiasm, two diametrically opposed, relevant messages without experiencing dissonance. Yet, such seems not to have been the case for Bryan and Ingersoll; each speaker had a strong appeal to the

[1] See, for example: William Norwood Brigance, ed., *A History and Criticism of American Public Address* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1943), vols. I and II; Loren Reid, ed., *American Public Address* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1961), pp. 151-169, and Robert T. Oliver, *History of Public Speaking in America* (Boston: Allyn and Boston, Inc., 1965).

common people and each injoyed significant popularity.[2]

This paper will investigate the paradox of the simultaneous and seemingly contradictory popularity enjoyed by Bryan and Ingersoll. The method used will be to examine selected statements related to religion by both speakers and to draw conclusions leading to an explanation of this phenomenon. The religious views and references of the speakers was chosen as the focal issue because the two men differed so completely on this subject and because the topic possessed high relevance to their listeners.

Ingersoll, a Republican, first gained public attention at the age of forty-three with the famed "plumed knight" speech nominating James G. Blaine for President in 1876.[3] Bryan, often called "The Boy Orator of the Platte,"[4] gained attention in 1887 at the age of twenty-seven as a Democrat and a supporter of popular movements in normally-Republican Nebraska.[5] Thus, for twelve years these two orators shared the attention of the American public.[6]

---

[2] See, for example, Wayne C. Williams, *William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1923), p. 26; M. R. Werner, *Bryan* (New York: Harcourt Brace, and Co., 1929), pp. 21, 35, 75, 95, 105-6; Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1925), pp. 248-250; Victoria and Robert O. Case, *We Called It Culture* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948), Chs. 9, 10, and 11; Cameron Rogers, *Colonel Bob Ingersoll* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1927), pp. 115, 194, 210-11.

[3] Orvin Larson, "Ingersoll, Robert Green," *The Encyclopedia Americana,* 1973.

[4] Werner, p. 67.

[5] Werner, pp. 20-22.

[6] Gay MacLaren, *Morally We Roll Along* (Boston: Little Brown, and Co., 1938). MacLaren, a first-hand observer and member of a Chautauqua troupe, records these responses of the Chautauqua audiences to Ingersoll and Bryan: "Audiences applauded the great preachers, Beecher, Talmage, and Phillips, and with equal ardor packed the auditoriums to hear Robert Ingersoll denounce Christianity." (p. 168)

.....

"The greatest of all the Chautauqua headliners was William Jennings Bryan. He was the premier Chautauquan, the star of them all. It has been said that Bryan spoke to more people than any man in history." (p. 204).

William Jennings Bryan

Because William Jennings Bryan believed that a nation was subject to the same moral laws of right and wrong as an individual, he approached almost every problem, including political action, as a religious question. Each answer was the clash of right against wrong, and choices were ultimate and absolute. Accordingly, he believed incessantly that he had found the path of *right* and that he spoke with the insight and authority of inspiration. Conversely, his opponents were advocating a path of *wrong* and were not only politically unwise, but "sinful" as well.

With the naive approach to the governmental and societal problems of his time, Bryan was the dogmatic dispenser of truth often expressed in Biblical paraphrases, and he vilified his opponents as agents of evil. In declaring himself opposed to occupation of the Phillipines in 1898, Bryan said, "Here I take my stand. He that is not with me is against me."[7] The similarity to the words of Jesus in Matthew 12:30 is obvious.[8] In summing up his service to the Democratic party in 1904, he declared, "You may dispute whether I fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith."[9] The parallel to the words of the aging Paul to his young colleague Timothy, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,"[10] is striking. Of course, the most famous of his Biblical illusions, the "crown of thorns . . . cross of gold" speech of 1896,[11] was intended to convey the image of the "crucifixion" of the common people by the gold standard.

In attempting to vilify his opponents during his first campaign for Congress he said, "The marriage between the G.O.P. and monopoly has been consummated, and what God hath joined together let no man put asunder."[12] This statement, a paraphrase of Matthew 19:6, "What therefore God hath joined

---

[7] Williams, p. 23.

[8] This and all Biblical references hereafter are taken from the King James Version.

[9] Williams, p. 118.

[10] II Timothy 4:7.

[11] William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co.), p. 205.

[12] Werner, p. 25.

together, let no man put asunder," is, of course, quite freqently used as a part of Christian wedding services. Thus Bryan tried to project the image of a Divinely-sanctioned and permanent union between the Republican party and the oppressive money interests, an image that, in many quarters, persist rather stubbornly even today.

In his first speech in Congress, he quoted Acts 20:35: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." He then facetiously declared that the great money interests were being self-sacrificing and were allowing the common man to become blessed.[13] Bryan further projected his religious image by the series of lectures, "In His Image," in which he attacked the theory of evolution and modern sciences as a "demoralizing influence."[14] Near the close of his life, Bryan, in attacking Darrow at the Scopes trial, declared that his goal was "to protect the word of God against the greatest atheist or agnostic in the United States."[15]

Even in his most partisan political speeches, Bryan attempted to protect the impression that he was actually applying the "Golden Rule" in the best tradition of fundamental religion of the common people. During his first campaign for Congress he said, "The safety of our farmers and our laborers is not in special legislation but in equal and just laws that bear alike on every man."[16] In Boston in 1902, he said, "There is no room in America for two aristocratic parties: one aristrocratic party is enough. The mission of the Democrat party is to serve the common people."[17]

In many areas of political concern, Bryan was neither the high-minded spokesman of "true religion" as he claimed, nor, for that matter, even highly competent.[18] But, true to his style, he gave wholehearted support to any proposition he undertook,[19] and in doing so, he projected the aura of a religious

---

[13] Werner, p. 33.

[14] William Jennings Bryan, "The Origin of Man," in *In His Image* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1922), p. 88.

[15] Taken from the transcript of the Scopes Trial recorded in *The World's Most Famous Court Trial,* (Cincinnati: National Book Co., 1925), p. 299.

[16] Werner, p. 27.

[17] Williams, p. 114.

[18] Werner, pp. 228-229.

[19] Williams, p. 100.

cause into the fight. Even in the silver coinage issue, Bryan never attempted to show how free coinage of silver would improve the lot of the common man. He chose, rather, to avoid a confrontation with facts and to defend his stand with such phrases as, "Silver will lay aside its graveclothes and its shroud. It will yet rise and in its rising and its reign will bless mankind."[20] The statement by its close parallel to the Christian teachings about Christ, cast silver in the role of God-appointed Savior of all men. Facts, evidence, and arguments were therefore irrelevant, for the will of God was "revealed" and must be accepted by faith. To doubt the statement was, then, to deny the power and authority of God.

Although assuredly he realized the impact of his image, Bryan usually attempted to make his audience believe that he was the devout "underdog" fighting for Christianity and truth against an awesome array of evil. In the opening of the "cross of gold" speech, he said, "I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened, if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause[21] is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty — the cause of humanity."[22] One biographer pointed out, "Mr. Bryan seemed to realize that he sang better than he argued."[23]

Robert Green Ingersoll

Edward G. Smith says, "The most lasting impression of Colonel R. G. Ingersoll is in the memory of those who knew him as a companion, on railroad trains, at hotels, in his home, around the courts."[24] Mark Twain, a close friend and traveling companion, said of Ingersoll, "His was a great and beautiful spirit, he was a man—all man, from his crown to his footsoles. My reverence for him was deep and genuine."[25] Walt Whitman,

---

[20] Werner, pp. 49-50.

[21] Compare with II Corinthians 6:7, Ephesians 6:10-19, Psalms 35: 24-28.

[22] *The First Battle,* p. 199.

[23] Werner, p. 68.

[24] Edward Garstin Smith, *The Life and Reminiscences of Robert G. Ingersoll* (New York: The National Weekly Publishing Co., 1904), p. 112.

[25] Clarence H. Cramer, *Royal Bob* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), p. 261.

too, was absorbed with Ingersoll. On one occasion he observed, "He is a dangerous man to meet if you don't want to like him; he overcomes venom—he baffles the quibblers."[26]

How truly effective Ingersoll was at baffling the quibblers was revealed during a speech in defense of the Union and in support of the war effort. He was being badly heckled by some Confederate sympathizers. On the verge of being shouted down, he amazed everyone in the audience by beginning a prayer. "God bless the soldiers of the army of the United States, wherever they may be, whether they be on the uncertain edge of the grave, whether they be fighting and dying on the hillside, whether they be parched with thirst." The audience fell completely silent in astonishment and reverence. "God bless the soldiers of the United States—and God damn their enemies." Needless to say, the crowd cheered wildly, and the hecklers were silenced.[27]

In his speeches, Ingersoll disregarded the accepted applications of some of the basic concepts of Aristotlean *ethos.* Instead of attempting to demonstrate sagacity, high moral character, and good will, he preached a doctrine that many believed was certain to bring about his complete and eternal damnation. He committed blasphemy against orthodox religion almost every time he spoke, and he criticized, often harshly, the most honored expressions of Christian faith that the common men knew. Despite these contradictions, Ingersoll had a very strong appeal to his audience. The answer to this paradox lies in the nature of the attacks made by Ingersoll. Two topics received the major portion of his invective—the evils perpetrated by the church itself and the evils attributed to God by the church. On the former topic he said:

> Give any orthodox church the power, and to-day they would punish heresy with whip, and chain, and fire. As long as a church deems a certain belief essential to salvation, just so long it will kill and burn if it has the power . . . . It is impossible for the imagination to conceive of a greater atrocity than has been perpetrated by the church. Every nerve in the human body capable of pain has been sought out and touched by the church.[28]

---

[26] Rogers, pp. 244-245.

[27] Rogers, p. 173.

[28] Robert G. Ingersoll, *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll* (New York: The Ingersoll League, 1900), v. 1, pp. 211-212.

On other occasions he described with vivid language and great detail the horrors of the Inquisition, the Reformation, and the Crusades.[29] On the evils attributed to God by the church, he pointed out:

> In nearly all the theologies, mythologies and religions, the devils have been much more humane and merciful than the gods. No devil ever gave one of his generals an order to kill children and to rip open the bodies of pregnant women. Such barbarities were always ordered by the good gods. The pestilences were sent by the most merciful gods. The frightful famine, during which the dying child with pallid lips sucked the withered bosom of a dead mother, was sent by the loving gods. No devil was ever charged with such fiendish brutality.[30]
>
> . . . I insist that the real God, if there is one, never commanded man to enslave his fellow-man, never told a mother to sell her babe, never established polygamy, never urged one nation to exterminate another, and never told a husband to kill his wife because she suggested the worship of another God.
>
> From the aspersions of the pulpit, from the slanders of the church, I seek to rescue the reputation of the Deity.[31]

In attacking the requirements of belief and baptism, he quoted Mark 16:16: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."[32] Then, he responded, "That passage contradicts the Sermon on the Mount; travesties the Lord's prayer; turns the splendid religion of deed and duty into the superstition of creed and cruelty. I deny it. It is infamous! Christ never said it!"[33]

He also rejected "the tidings of great joy that an Infinite Spider is weaving webs to catch the souls of men;"[34] he denied that God was "the keeper of an infinite penitentiary filled with immortal convicts,"[35] and that God was the "eternal eavesdropper of the universe."[36]

---

[29] See, for example, Ingersoll, v. 1, p. 215; v. 1, pp. 78-86.

[30] Ingersoll, v. 1, pp. 17-18.

[31] Ingersoll, v. 2, p. 331.

[32] This passage has since been dropped from many of the more recent translations of the Bible because of its questionable authenticity. Some of the major objections to inclusion are treated by Dennis E. Nineham, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and a Fellow of Emmanuel College, in *The Gospel of St. Mark* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1967), pp. 449-453.

[33] Ingersoll, v. 1, p. 480.

[34] Ingersoll, v. 6, p. 182.

[35] Ingersoll, v. 6, p. 160.

[36] Ingersoll, v. 1, p. 450.

A third topic received considerable attention from Ingersoll, though treated more with scorn than invective—the dogmas of orthodox religion that demanded acceptance by faith of ideas which could not meet the tests of logic. He rejected as illogical the purpose for Christ's death:

> To make innocence suffer is the greatest sin, and it may be the only sin. How, then, is it possible to make the consequences of sin an atonement for sin, when the consequences of sin are to be borne by one who has not sinned, and the one who has sinned is to reap the reward of virtue? No honorable man should be willing that another should suffer for him.[37]

Of the betrayal by Judas, Ingersoll said:

> If Judas had understood the Christian system, if he knew that Christ must be betrayed, and that God was depending on him to betray him, and that without the betrayal no human soul could be saved, what should Judas have done?[38]

Of the necessity for Christ's crucifixion, he remarked:

> If, when Christ was on his way to Calvary, some brave soul had rescued him from the pious mob, he would not only have been damned for his pains, but would have rendered impossible the salvation of any human being.[39]

He summarized his attitude toward God, Heaven, and orthodox religion in this way:

> Is it possible that an infinite God created this world simply to be the dwelling-place of slaves and serfs? Simply for the purposes of raising orthodox Christians? That he did a few miracles to astonish them; that all the evils of life are simply his punishments, and that he is finally going to turn heaven into a kind of religious museum filled with Baptist barnacles, petrified Presbyterians and Methodist mummies?[40]

Denunciations of this kind certainly provided grounds for a deep and genuine hatred of Ingersoll held by many of the well-known ministers of the day. But by and large this was not the response he received from the common people. Examination of these attacks would perhaps explain why. Basically Ingersoll's attacks were not directed at God or Christ or at believers. Quite the contrary, Ingersoll proclaimed that he intended to defend

---

[37] Ingersoll, v. 2, p. 316.

[38] Ingersoll, v. 2, p. 317.

[39] Ingersoll, v. 2, pp. 317-318.

[40] Ingersoll, v. 1, p. 188.

the honor and reputation of the Divinities from slander by the church. Instead of attacking the common people for their beliefs, he praised them:

> While utterly discarding all creeds, and denying the truth of all religions, there is neither in my heart nor upon my lips a sneer for the hopeful, loving and tender souls who believe that from all this discord will result a perfect harmony; that every evil will in some mysterious way become a good, and that above and over all there is a being who, in some way, will reclaim and glorify every one of the children of men.[41]

The objects of attack were (1) the dogmatic, orthodox church; (2) priests, preachers, and theologians; and (3) zealots who demanded, and, in some instances, forced upon the common people a degree of faith and spiritual perfection incongrous with the experiences and problems of day to day existence.

Summary and Conclusions

Rhetorical critics have largely ignored the paradox of the popularity of Bryan and Ingersoll, choosing to deal with them in juxtaposition, in isolation, or in succession. The Brigance volumes, for example, deal with Ingersoll in Volume I and with Bryan in Volume II.[42] Reid includes Bryan but omits Ingersoll.[43] Oliver addresses the situation somewhat more realistically, treating the men and the issues simultaneously at times,[44] but ultimately reverting to treatment in succession.[45]

That Bryan and Ingersoll were aware of, and perhaps a bit jealous of, the popularity of the other can be established. Ingersoll said of Bryan, "His brain is an insane asylum without a keeper."[46] Bryan's response to a speech by Bourke Cockran

---

[41] Ingersoll, v. 1, pp. 85-86.

[42] Brigance, vol. I and II.

[43] Reid, pp. 151-169.

[44] Oliver cites the expressions of opinion each speaker held of the other (p. 342 and p. 488) and makes one reference to Ingersoll's speech of October 29, 1896, in opposition to Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech (p. 346).

[45] Oliver says, "A new generation of orators arose, who had scarcely more resemblance to Ingersoll, Beecher, Conkling, and Harrison than they had to the greater statesmen and spokesmen of the ante bellum years. A new tone entered into the public dialogue. The general appeals of these new speakers was to sacrifice, and duty, and patriotism. Politics came again to be evangelistic. William Jennings Bryan was the most popular of the group . . . (p. 475).

[46] Ingersoll, v. 9, p. 575.

was, "Here at last is one to match Robert Ingersoll—a very magician of eloquence, swaying like a great tree caught in a whirlwind as the tumultuous current of his words beat down resistance and swelled the hearts of those who heard him."[47] Although Ingersoll's words seem virulent, they do not differ measurably from expressions he used against the clergy, the church, and other powerful forces of the day that he considered supercilious and self-righteous. Bryan's remarks indicate an attitude of antipathy and awe for Ingersoll.

Generally, the ideas that Ingersoll expressed represented the common people's response to the overly pious clergymen who condemned most of the common people to hell every Sunday. Although the people did not dare deny the "Divine truths" and the "inspired messages," they cheered Ingersoll when he did. Ingersoll expressed, vividly and fervently, some of the doubts about organized religion that many common people secretly entertained, but dared not speak. Perhaps he represented a feeling of rebellion secretly held by many toward the life of perfection demanded by religious dogma of the day. On the other hand, Bryan expressed, equally vividly and fervently, the religious beliefs familiar to most of the common people from their church experiences. Yet many of the platitudes they openly professed seemed to bear little relationship to their day to day activities. The Golden Rule and turning the other cheek sounded noble and inspiring in church, but seemed not to work so well in a business world which operated largely on a philosophy of *caveat emptor,* "let the buyer beware."

Dissonance theory suggests that when confronted with conflicting, relevant messages, an audience will engage in some form of dissonance reduction—derrogation of one of the speakers, reinterpretation or avoidance of one of the messages, or some other means of compensating for the experienced dissonance.[48] That the messages of Bryan and Ingersoll conflicted is obvious. That the messages were relevant to the listeners, too, seems evident. How then could large audiences composed predominantly of common people applaud both

---

[47] Paxton Hibben, *The Peerless Leader* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1929), p. 104.

[48] For a concise and lucid explanation of dissonance-reduction strategies, see Wayne C. Minnick, *The Art of Persuasion,* 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 114.

speakers? The answer may be discovered in a consideration and analysis of the message processing activity employed by the audience. Perhaps Byran's messages were processed at a more overt, conscious level of societal acceptance and conformity; whereas, Ingersoll's messages were processed at a more covert, subliminal level of cognitive experience. The *psycho-logic* model of cognitive relationships developed by Abelson and Rosenberg suggest that such an occurrence is indeed possible. Jones and Gerard explain this condition very precisely:

> An important feature of the Rosenberg-Abelson formulation is that inbalance can exist without necessarily creating strains toward consistency. The person has a number of mechanisms for dealing with inbalanced cognitive relations. He may redefine the concepts, insist they are not related, or in subtler ways mentally isolate concepts that are not in balance so that it is not necessary to confront their contradictory implications . . . .[49]

It can be postulated that Bryan's and Ingersoll's messages were equally and simultaneously acceptable to their audiences because the messages were processed at different levels of awareness. Both speakers were fulfilling needs perceived by the audience and the messages were processed in the common man's consciousness as equal but not contradictory. The paradox of enthusiastic audience response to conflicting messages can be solved because the anticipated dissonance never occured, or, at least, was never perceived by the audience.

In the final analysis, Bryan was the great religionist, for he thought not of religion serving man, but of man serving religion; Ingersoll was the great humanitarian for he believed man could reach his own perfection. Each man in his own way and within the framework of his own philosophy, strove to improve the lot of mankind, to bring about good, and to make the world a better place—and the common people flocked to hear them, applauded with gusto, and departed well-pleased.

---

[49] Edward E. Jones and Harold B. Gerard, *Foundations of Social Psychology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 168.

SOME PROBLEMS WITH DISCOUNTING TECHINQUES IN COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS IN THE CASE OF THE WESTERN COAL LANDS

by

Raymond Prince
Department of Economics

Cost benefit analysis is routinely applied to measure the net economic impact of large scale projects. The goal of such analysis is to use resources in such a way as to maximize the positive difference between benefits and costs. At the heart of this analysis is the calculation of a current value for the anticipated future flow of net benefits or costs in which returns (whether they be positive or negative) in the near future are weighted more heavily than those whose realization are more distant.

The utilization of a present discounted value (PDV) of future income and expenditure flows is not, however, free of problems or limitations.[1] The purpose of this paper is to examine some problems with this technique which have received little, if any, attention in the literature and which apply to the question of developing the coal deposits in the Western region of the United States. Specifically, it is argued (1) that the lack of an unique internal rate of return under certain circumstances will mean the choice among investment alternatives is ambiguous[2] and (2) the weighting of near returns more heavily than distant returns may be inappropriate. Section I of the paper provides a brief description of the PDV technique, while the criticisms of the technique listed above are discussed in Section II. Section III is devoted to conclusions.

---

[1] Among the difficulties are (1) that a positive PDV is not sufficient to satisfy Pareto conditions for efficiency, (2) that the PDV is incapable of considering differences in risk associated with the scale of the project; and (3) that there is a divergence between private and social rates of discount in the real world.

[2] The internal rate of return is defined as the interest rates which makes the PDV equal to zero. Money is usually invested in the project with the highest internal rate of return. Where there is only one project being considered, it is usually undertaken if the PDV >0 for some specified rate of discount.

I

Discounting is a method for giving a current value to a future stream of income or benefits so long as a monetary value can be placed on those benefits. In essence the PDV can be thought of as the amount which would have to be placed in a savings account today at a given rate of interest to yield the same annual income (through withdrawals of principle and accumulated interest) over the same number of years as the life of the investment. A firm or individual can then determine which alternative provides the highest yield by comparing their internal rates of return. Generally,

$$PDV = \sum_{t=0}^{n} \frac{(Bt - Ct)}{(1 + i)^t} \quad \text{where}$$

$(Bt - Ct)$ = net benefit in year t equal to gross benefits (B) minus gross costs (C)
i = compound rate of return or discount rate
PDV = present discounted value

This technique can be demonstrated by applying it to the current controversy over whether the western coal lands should be opened to strip mining. The land involved is regarded as prime grazing land capable of supporting 12.6 million head of cattle. If it can be assumed:

(1) the ability of the land to support the herd can, with proper management, be maintained indefinitely,
(2) the sustained yield slaughter rate is 60 percent of herd size; and
(3) the profit per head of cattle is $150;

then the net profit from sales would be $1.13 billion per year.

A possible alternative use of this land is to strip mine the fifty-seven billion tons of coal which the House Interior Committee estimates lie below the surface. If it is assumed:

(1) 1.63 billion tons are mined each year for 35 years,
(2) average profit per ton equals $2.00,
(3) the $114 billion in total profits represent a 17% rate of return on an investment of $670 billion,
(4) $25 billion of investment is required at the beginning of the project (year zero) with the remaining $645 billion spread evenly over the 35 years during which the coal is being mined, and

(5) all grazing ceases once the strip mining begins and resumes with annual profits again of $1.13 billion in the 36th year;

then the net benefits to society of developing the coal lands can be measured as the difference between the annual profits of the coal producers and the lost profits of the cattlemen.

The PDV of mining the western lands under these assumptions would be

$$[1] \quad PDV = \frac{-\$25 \text{ billion}}{(1+i)^0} + \sum_{t=1}^{35} \frac{(\$3.97 \text{ billion} - \$1.13 \text{ billion})}{(1+i)^t}$$

The values for the PDV at different values for the discount rate are given in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Present Discounted Value at Various Discount Rates

i	PDV (billion $)	i	PDV (billions $)
.00	74.4	.07	11.8
.01	58.5	.08	8.1
.02	46.0	.09	5.0
.03	36.0	.10	2.4
.04	28.0	.11	0.1
.05	21.5	.12	-1.8
.06	16.2		

II

Table 1 indicates that investment in the strip mining activity would provide a positive flow of discounted net benefits at all interest rates except twelve percent. This exception is an example of the long recognized result that higher discount rates tend to favor projects with early positive returns over those whose net benefits are more distant. At a twelve percent rate of interest, therefore, it would be more profitable to continue using the land for grazing.

It is unlikely, however, that a reversion to the use of the western coal lands to grazing once mining were completed

would be costless (if possible at all).[3] If assumption (5) above is changed to reflect this to read as follows:

(5) reclamation costs in year 36 total $94.5 billion ($2500/acre) with full scale grazing resuming in year 37

then the PDV is

$$[2] \quad PDV = \frac{-25 \text{ billion}}{(1+i)^0} + \sum_{t=1}^{35} \frac{(\$3.97 \text{ billion} - \$1.13 \text{ billion}}{(1+i)^t} - \frac{\$94.5 \text{ billion}}{(1+i)^{36}}$$

The PDV which result from the new assumption are listed in Table 2 below. It should be noted that the proposal to strip mine the western lands is now considered to provide a net flow of beneifts only if the middle range of interest rates are appropriate. At either end of the range of rates grazing would be recommended.

Table 2

Present Discounted Values at Various Discount Rates

i	PDV (billions $)	i	PDV (billions $)
.00	- 20.1	.07	3.6
.01	- 7.5	.08	2.2
.02	- 0.3	.09	0.8
.03	3.4	.10	- 0.6
.04	5.0	.11	- 2.1
.05	5.2	.12	- 3.3
.06	4.7		

III

The differences in the results indicated in Tables 1 and 2 can be explained if the PDV formula is represented as a polynomial function.

$$f(x) = \sum_{t=0}^{n} a_t x^{-t} \quad \text{where} \quad \begin{aligned} f(x) &= PDV \\ a &= (B-C) \\ x &= (1+i) \end{aligned}$$

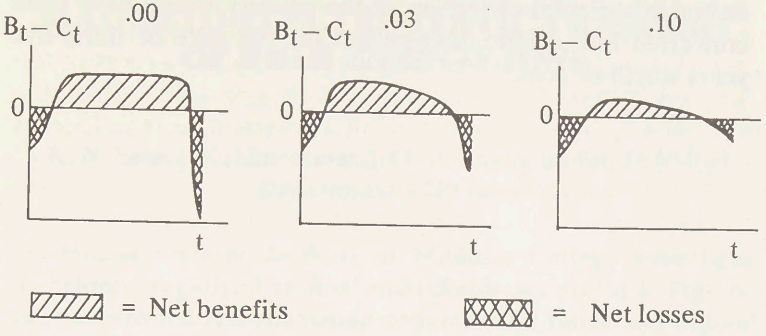
[3] A study by the National Academy of Science, *Rehabilitation Potential of Western Coal Lands*, (Cambridge: Lippencott, Ballenger, 1975), p. 173 indicates that rehabilitation "potential is extremely low due to the area's very dry climate."

The difference between formula [1] (on which Table 1 is based) and formula [2] (the basis of Table 2) is that in the former case $a_t < 0$ for $t = 0$, $a_t > 0$ for $t > 0$ whereas for the latter formula $a_t < 0$ for $t = 0, 36$ and $a_t > 0$ for $0 < t < 36$. Since, according to Descartes' rule of signs, the number of positive roots of f(x) will not exceed the number of changes in the sign of the sequence $a_0, a_1, \cdots a_n$, the condition represented in [2] means that it may not be possible to associate any particular value of PDV with an unique rate of discount. For example, in formula [2] PDV equals zero (one is indifferent between the two alternatives) when $i \cong .02, .10$[4]. A situation such as the one represented by [2] may cause the decision-making process to be far more difficult since the policy maker may be forced to set the range of acceptable discount rates within narrow and controversial limits in order to decide between alternatives.

It should also be noted that the total costs of the strip mining proposals in Table 2 exceed the total expected benefit by $20.1 billion. Nevertheless, at discount rates between three and nine percent the development of the coal lands would still be recommended. This somewhat puzzling result is explained by the fact that more distant expenses and benefits are discounted so heavily at higher interest rates that they become unimportant. Thus, starting with 3% the net expenses of reclamation are "ignored" and the PDV becomes positive. By the time the rate reaches 10% the years of positive returns are so heavily discounted that the $25 billion loss at the beginning of the project become dominant. A comparison of actual with discounted returns at various interest rates in Figure 1 indicates the "distortion" caused by discounting. In these graphs PDV can be thought of as the sum of the area above point zero (horizontal line) minus the sum of the areas below (i.e., net benefits minus net losses).

[4] These are the internal rates of return.

Figure 1
Discounted Flow of Benefits Under Various Rates



The concept of discounted value is based upon an analogy with the behavior of an individual. Economic analysis assumes that an individual will only relinquish the opportunity for current consumption (i.e., money) in return for the opportunity of even greater consumption in the future (i.e., more money). The assumption is then that consumption now is worth more to a person than the same amount of consumption later. By analogy, cost-benefit analysis - and in particular discounting techniques - implicitly assume that society also prefers current over future consumption - even if the consumption involves exhaustible resources over several generations. If it is not correct to make inter-personal utility comparisons, however, the assumption that consumption by this generation is worth more than the foregone consumption of some future generation cannot be justified either. Discounting is, therefore, a very myopic form of analysis.

In the case of the western coal lands, for instance, the decision makers in 2013 (assuming the project began in 1977) would be faced with a large expenditure of resources in order to restore the land to its original condition. Cost-benefit analysis *at that time* would indicate that a project with $94.5 billion in front-end costs for reclamation could not be justified at discount rates above .0125[5]. Given the option of disregarding any commitments made in 1977, therefore, the course of action

---

[5] That is $PDV = \frac{-94.5}{(1+i)^0} + \sum_{t=1}^{\infty} \frac{1.13}{(1+i)^t} < 0$ for $i > .0125$.

recommended by a computation of the PDV in 2013 would probably be to leave the land unused. In such a case a highly desirable agricultural section of the country would have been converted into a virtual wasteland for the sake of thirty-five years worth of coal.

PLASMA HEATING BY MAGNETO-ELECTROSTATIC TRAPPING OF HIGH ENERGY IONS

by

K. N. Leung, K. Saadatmand, G. R. Taylor and R. E. Kribel
Department of Physics

Plasma research facilities at Madison College have been developed rapidly. The first multi-dipole system M-I, Fig. 1a, was completed last year using departmental funds and federal surplus equipment. In the summer of 1976, with the help of a grant from the Research Corporation, a second multi-dipole plasma ion-source device M-II, Fig. 1b, was constructed. With these facilities, the plasma group is planning to perform small-scale experiments that might provide information useful for the Controlled Thermonuclear Research Program.

During the 1975-76 academic year, several experiments were conducted in the M-I system to investigate the characteristics of the magnetic multi-dipole device. First, the confinement of plasma was studied by three different full-line cusp geometries obtained by arranging permanent magnets in three different orientations as shown in Fig. 2. The efficiency in primary electron confinement was shown to account for the difference in plasma density for these three geometries.[1] In that experiment, it was also found that by putting the ceramic magnets sideways so that similar magnetic poles face each other, a cusp is formed in the gap between two magnets, Fig. 2c.

Previous studies have shown that the confinement of primary ionizing electrons is responsible for most of the increase in density over non-magnetically confined plasmas.[2]

---

[1] K. N. Leung, G. R. Taylor, J. M. Barrick, S. L. Paul, and R. E. Kribel, "Plasma Confinement by Permanent Magnet Boundaries," *Physics Letters,* Vol. 57A (May, 1976), p. 145.

[2] K. N. Leung, T. K. Samec and A. Lamm, "Optimization of Permanent Magnet Plasma Confinement," *Physics Letters,* Vol. 51A (May, 1975), p. 490.

The authors wish to thank J. D. Lehman and T. N. Gallaher for technical assistance. This work is supported in part by a grant from the Madison College Program of Grants for Faculty Research.

As a result, it is important to know the effective mean free paths of the primary electrons both at high and low neutral pressures. These mean free path lengths for three types of multi-dipole plasmas have been measured by the plasma group at Madison and the experimental data has been accepted for publication in the Journal of Applied Physics. In addition, the plasma ion leakage velocity through a line cusp has been measured using a double Langmuir probe. Results show that the plasma ions are leaking out the cusps at the ion acoustic speed.[3]

Since the primary ionizing electrons are confined very efficiently by the multi-dipole fields, electrons with energy just below the ionization potential energy of the neutral gas should stay in the magnetic bottle even longer because their loss rate is proportional to their energy. It has been reported that a very negative plasma potential well can be obtained by injecting cold non-ionizing primary electrons into the background plasma.[4] This negative electrostatic potential well, together with the multi-cusp fields can be used to trap high energy ion beams. The background ion temperature will be increased when the injected ions become thermalized. A detailed discussion of these plasma ion heating experiments is given in the following sections.

Fig. 3 is a schematic diagram of the M-I system which consists of a 40-liter thin-walled stainless steel vessel with the top flange and side wall covered externally by ceramic permanent magnets ($B_{max} \simeq 2kG$). A magnetic grid constructed from four rows of ceramic magnets separates the vessel into a driver and a target chamber. The magnets in the grid are arranged in the same configuration as Fig. 2c so that line cusps ($B \simeq 400\,G$) are formed between the magnet rows. Three stainless-steel fine grids (100 lines/inch with an 85% transparency) are installed at each cusp of the magnetic grid. The first grid on the driver side is at the same potential as the filaments so that ions are being extracted while primary and plasma electrons are prevented from getting through. The second grid (the acceleration grid) is separated approximately 3mm from the first grid and is biased

---

[3] K. N. Leung, R. E. Kribel and G. R. Taylor, "Measurement of the Effective Mean Free Paths of Primary Electrons in a Multidipole Device," *Madison College Physics Research Report,* PRR-005 (1976).

[4] N. Hershkowitz and K. N. Leung, "Plasma Electron Heating by Injection of Low Energy Electrons," *Applied Physics Letters,* Vol. 35 (July, 1975), p. 277.

at–150 volts with respect to the vessel wall to accelerate the ions that have penetrated through the first grid. The third grid (the deceleration grid) located on the target side is left at the floating potential of the target plasma.

In this experiment, both the plasma densities and the electron temperatures are measured by Langmuir probes located in the driver and target regions. The ion temperature in the target chamber is measured by an electrostatic energy analyzer, shown schematically in Fig. 4. This energy analyzer is made of anodized aluminum with two grids and a collecting plate. The first grid is allowed to float at $\simeq -20$ volts, preventing the majority of the electrons from entering the analyzer. The collector plate is biased at–90 volts to collect only ion current. A sawtooth voltage is applied to the second grid. Only those ions with sufficient energy to overcome the potential barrier will be collected by the negatively biased plate. The ion temperature is then obtained from the e-folding length in the exponential portion of the current versus voltage characteristics.

Helium plasma is initially generated in the target chamber by D.C. discharge from one set of tungsten filaments. This produces a typical plasma density of 2×10^8 ion/c.c. with electron temperature $T_e \simeq 2.7$ eV at 2×10^{-4} torr. The ion temperature $T_i \simeq 0.45$ eV as shown by the ion energy analyzer trace of Fig. 5a. The target ion temperature does not change when the driver plasma is turned on because the driver plasma potential V_D is more negative than the target plasma potential V_T. However, V_T can be made very negative by injecting a lot of cold non-ionizing primary electrons with energy just below the ionization potential of the helium gas into the target plasma.[5] As a result, a negative potential well of approximately – 20 volts is formed in the target chamber and ion beams with energy approximately 4 eV are injected from the driver into the target region ($|V_T - V_D| \simeq 4$ volts). Once inside the target area, these high energy ions will be trapped quite efficiently by the negative electrostatic potential well. In addition the cusp fields of the magnets will also provide some confinement to the plasma ions. If the high energy ions become thermalized, they will increase the background ion temperature.

Fig. 5b is an ion energy analyzer trace obtained after the ion beams have been injected into the target chamber. The final ion

---

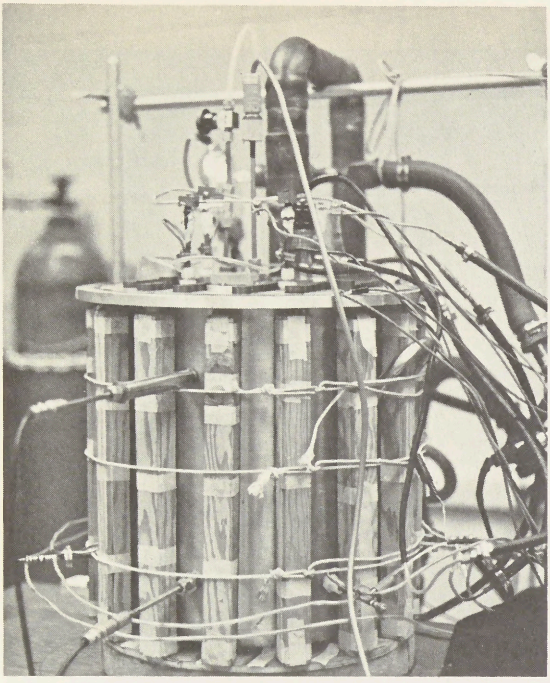
[5] *Ibid.*

temperature is found to be approximately 0.85 eV which is the highest ion temperature ever recorded in this type of multi-dipole device. Thus an increase of T_i by a factor of 2 can be achieved easily using this magneto-electrostatic trapping of high energy ions.

Currently the plasma group at Madison College is planning to construct a cylindrical magnetic cage as shown schematically in Fig. 6. This will permit the injection of larger ion beam current into the target plasma. Results of this experiment will provide valuable information on plasma heating in some of the future fusion reactors.

Table I

	Target Plasma	Before Ion-Beam Injection	After Ion-Beam Injection
Plasma Density	n (ion/c.c.)	2×10^8	2.6×10^8
Electron Temperature	T_e (eV)	2.7	3.2
Ion Temperature	T_i (eV)	0.45	0.85



(a)

(b)

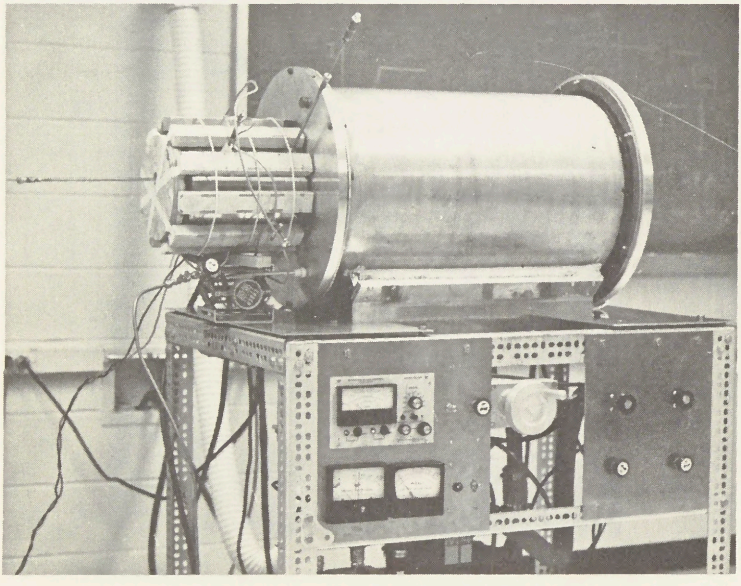
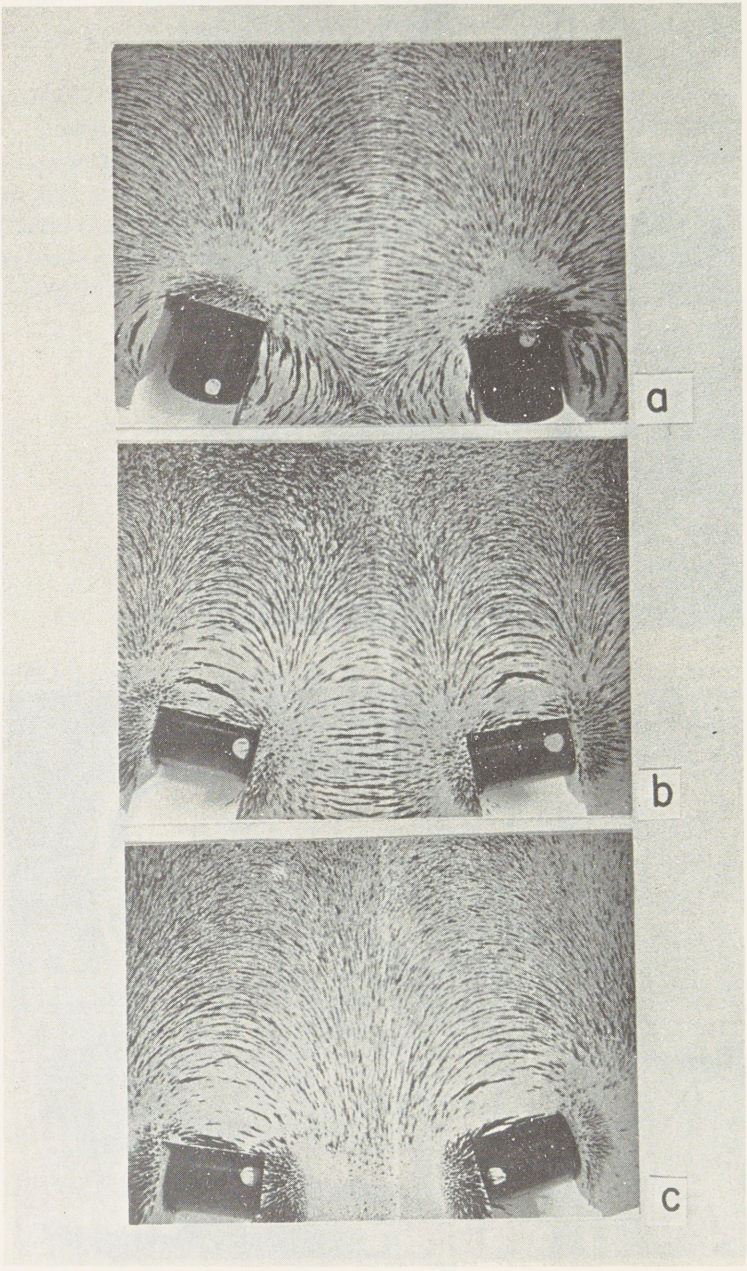


Fig. 1

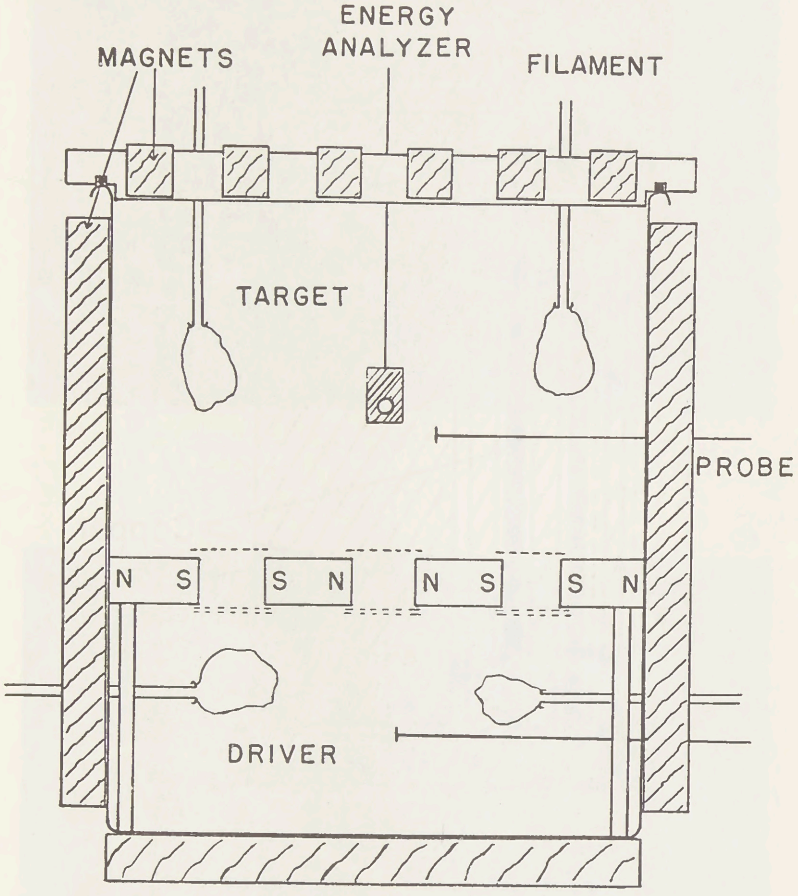
The magnetic multi-dipole plasma devices at Madison College.

Fig. 2



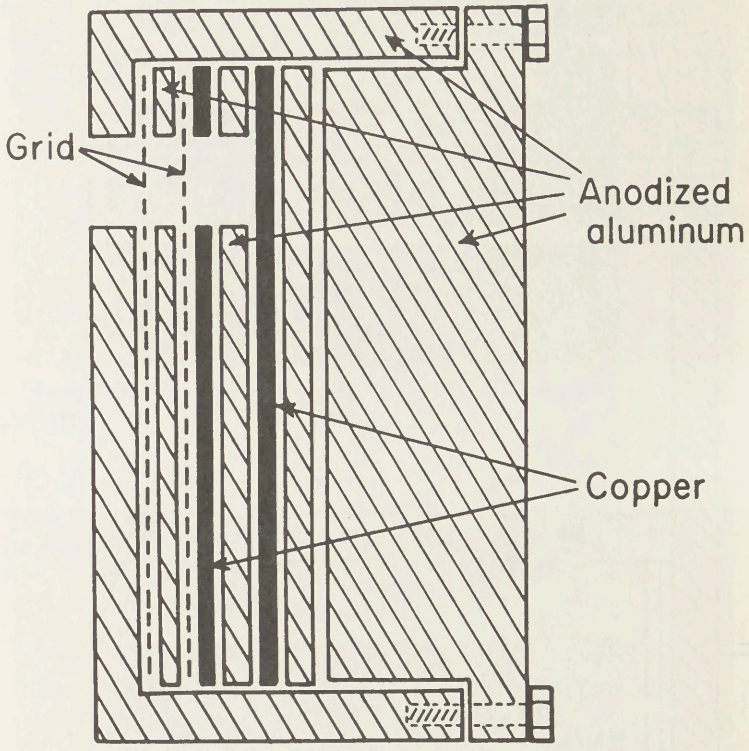
The three types of magnetic boundaries obtained by different orientations of the permanent magnets. The white dots on the magnets represent the north poles.

Fig. 3



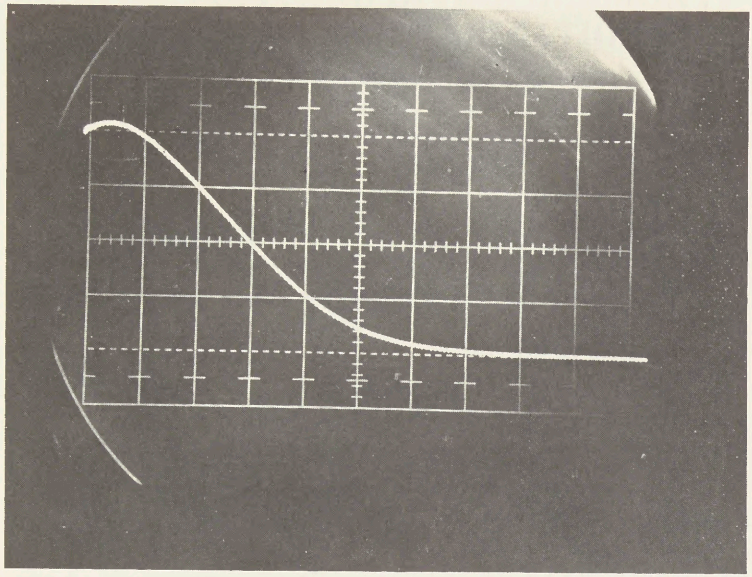
Schematic diagram of the M-I device.

Fig. 4



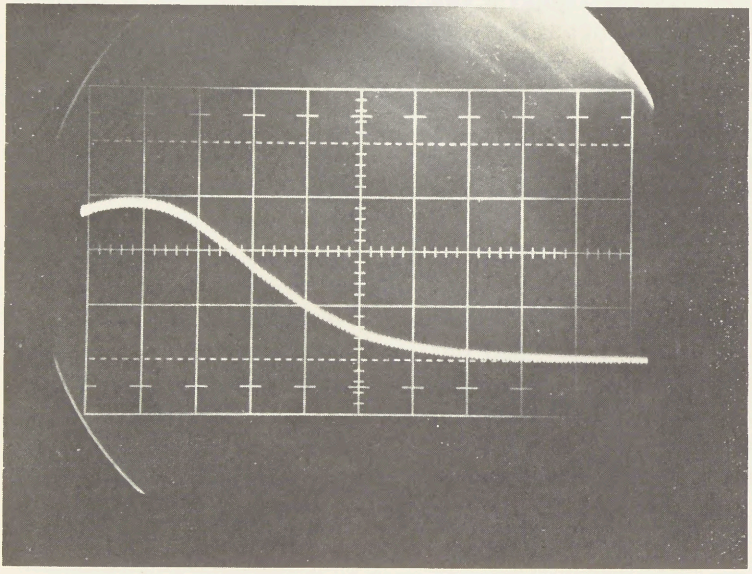
Schematic diagram of the ion energy analyzer.

Fig. 5



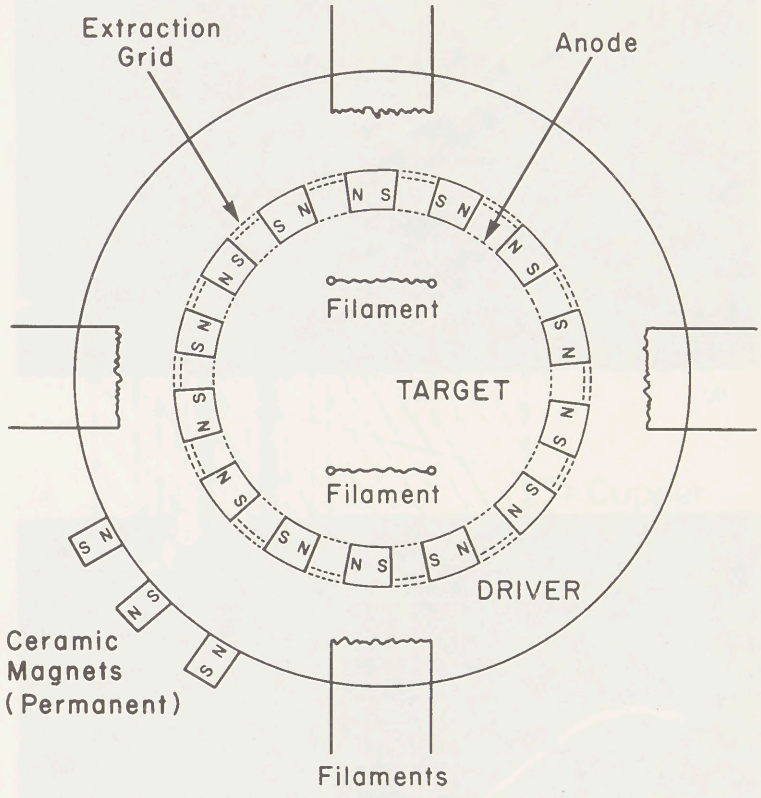
(a)

(b)



The ion energy analyzer characteristics (a) before and (b) after the injection of the ion beams.

Fig. 6



A cylindrical magnetic cage inside the M-I multi-dipole device.

MILTON, POPE, AND DIVINE HARMONY: NOTES ON THE SECULARIZATION OF THEODICY

by
Robert F. Geary
Department of English

Attempting generalizations about the intellectual contours of the literature of an age is extremely hazardous business. Writers are too diverse; geniuses do not always offer the best clue to the views commonly accepted by literate but less original people. Chronological boundaries are of little help; no dramatic change in English literature took place in the year 1700 to let people know that henceforth they would be reading "Augustan" as opposed to "Restoration" works. Nor are labels of much assistance; every age, for example, can in some sense be called a "period of transition." Most importantly, there is no uniform "spirit of the age" enveloping a time as smog engulfs a city to be breathed by all inhabitants alike. Yet changes do occur; and one is tempted to risk charting them in ways however small and tentative.

The period from the Restoration to the close of the eighteenth century offers an especially inviting challenge. For in this time various religious, scientific, and economic changes gain sufficient momentum not simply to make an impact (as, say, Hobbes's rationalism and materialism did earlier) but to coalesce and displace — though not eliminate — the older intellectual model which had persisted despite modifications from the Renaissance and earlier into this period. As Henry Knight Miller persuasively maintains, it is during the eighteenth century that the fundamental presuppositions behind English literature alter decisively away from the older religious, corporate, and hierarchical conceptions and toward modern, secular, and individualistic values and controlling metaphors. Thus the period's earlier writers are "in a great many significant respects . . . within an intellectual frame that could be called . . . 'medieval-renaissance-classical'. . ." whereas by the century's end "one is . . . in or nearing an intellectual frame" in which "the past has been thoroughly repudiated."[1]

---

[1] Henry Knight Miller, "Some Useful Lies about the Eighteenth Century: History of Ideas and Literature," *Lex et Sciencia,* 2 (1975), p. 130.

The literature of the age abounds in full or partial theodicies — justifications of God's ways to men, or, more exactly, explanations of the place of evil in the larger scheme of things. *Paradise Lost* and the *Essay on Man* are but the most famous examples. Defoe offers *Robinson Crusoe* not as a story for children but as a defense of the ways of Providence. Providential interventions in the form of divinely contrived 'coincidences' figure significantly in Restoration drama and even more so in Fielding's novels. Numerous "physico-theologies" by scientists connected with the Royal Society demonstrated the existence and benevolence of God from the intricate handiwork of the divinity which the authors discerned in nearly every imaginable aspect of the creation. Literary men, clerics, and scientists all saw providential order beneath seeming randomness, divinely ordained pattern behind apparent chance, purpose amid what in our time would more likely seem pointless suffering.

Yet by the closing decades of the century, one sees evidence of a decisive secularization. Whereas, for example, providential themes and a middle class desire for self-improvement coexist (however uneasily) in *Robinson Crusoe,* by 1776 the religious element has vanished in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations.* The economic order has become self-regulating, entirely independent of providential creation or control, to say nothing of clerical guidance. What remains is a disguised faith in a benign order underlying seemingly random activity, but the theological underpinnings of that faith have disappeared. What an earlier time would have seen as the 'finger of God', Smith treats as the "invisible hand" of the market place pressures of supply and demand. Smith's monumental work terminates the secularization of theodicy, a modern trend in which rationalistic meaning systems are constructed to explain evils in terms of such desacralized forces as the workings of a 'natural' order or the dialectics of class struggle. One need not multiply examples of this shift; literature since the Romantic period offers numerous expressions of the search for meaning on the part of men for whom the traditional religious and moral legitimations of experience no longer hold force.

Nor was the break a sudden one. Even among writers who shared the traditional religious meaning system, small but significant changes had taken place which point towards the eventual rationalizing of the older religious myths. Evidence of these subtle alterations can be found by examining a common metaphor cluster — the metaphor of world harmony arising out

of discord — as it is used to clarify the relation of evil to good in the two great literary theodicies of the Restoration and early eighteenth century, Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733-34).

As an index of this secularization one can focus on the interconnected concepts of sin, man's moral duty, and especially the intricate connection between evil and good. For there exists a vital difference between evil as an inevitably futile violation of the good, and the view that apparent evil is a *necessary element* in the larger order, part of a *dialectical process* essential to the proper functioning of the world. This latter view, once fully accepted, gravely weakens notions of moral duty and hence removes human activity from the domain of religious control.

What was to happen, in brief, would be radical secularization of the concept of world harmony which Leo Spitzer has traced throughout Western culture. Beginning with the Pythagorean idea of a four-fold harmony — among the strings of musical instruments, between the body and soul, among the elements in the state, and amid the stars in the heavens — this harmonic metaphor reappeared again and again to stress "the stable tunedness of the soul," a tempering of its passions as well as an attuning of the person both to society and to the divinely created world order, for "human activities were considered as imitating the artistic orderliness and harmony of nature."

Health — for the person or the community — consisted in achieving a concord out of discord. What is crucial to note about the *concordia discors* metaphor is that the emphasis was on the triumph of concord, the overcoming of discord, not on discordant elements as dialectically necessary parts of a larger whole. The Greek mind, for example, envisioned, "the triumph of 'symphony' over the discordant voices . . . the making concordant of the discordant." Plato thought that "man must regulate his senses to the *Nous* . . . and make straight the irregularity and disorder in the view of attaining harmony." Similarly, Saint Augustine in using the metaphor "had in mind the ability of harmony to smooth out apparent discord." Human evil, according to Duns Scotus, was a dissonance which would bring about the final and even greater "triumph of goodness and harmony," a triumph in which dissonance is abolished.[2] The

[2]Leo Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 7, 9, 13, 40.

stress throughout classical and medieval times was more on monody than polyphony, more on striving for unity than on disparity. One recalls D. W. Robertson's reminders about the hierarchical and static patterns of medieval thinking which did not involve dynamic syntheses or the progression by contraries so loved by William Blake. For the medieval thinker, "typically the two sides of the problem did not merge to form a new proposition;" instead, one side was refuted (though the refutation might contribute to the greater triumph of the "true" argument). Similar thinking prevailed with problems of moral evil. Disorder or sin was not a dynamic component of the good; it was to be resisted. But if resistance failed, sin could only damage the human world, not the larger order which would turn the discord of sin to harmony.

> But the disorder resulting from cupidity is a disorder only with reference to nature as it was created; with reference to God, it is part of the Divine Order and is essentially harmonious with it.

The man seeking only worldly goods "is inevitably frustrated as a result of the very order he disregards, but his frustration is itself part of that order."[3] This is a very different matter from seeing the unbridled cupidity of individuals as necessary and hence good ingredients in a harmoniously functioning (that is, a prosperous) economy. Yet this is exactly the change which was to occur.

The world harmony metaphor cluster flourished, Spitzer shows, down to the eighteenth century. Examples in Shakespeare include the familiar speech of Ulysses on "degree" in Act III, scene 3 of *Troilus and Cressida:* "Take but degree away, untune that string, / And hark, what discord follows." Significantly, man must strive for the tunedness the rest of creation observes without effort. Should he fail, the resulting chaos will only vindicate the need for the hierarchic harmony he refused to observe.[4] But, the concept did not survive the Enlightenment; and its disappearance, Spitzer remarks, sums up "the history of modern civilization" as a process of "de-christianization."[5] It is to this process we now turn.

---

[3] D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962, paper 1969), chap. 1, pp. 6, 11, 26.

[4] See, of course, E.M.W. Tillyard's *The Elizabethan World Picture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), esp. chap. 2.

[5] Spitzer, p. 79.

Paradise Lost

In numerous and obvious ways, Milton's epic theodicy is traditional, a grand dramatization of the Christian inheritance. The justification of the "ways of God to men," of the place of evil in the scheme of things, turns upon the inherited concepts of the fall of man through sin and the larger workings of "Eternal Providence" which can contain and turn to good the consequences of that fall (I, 25, 26).[6] Evil is not explained as an indispensable part of the natural order of things; all evils, natural and physical, are consequences of sin, of disobedience to moral laws by creatures made "just and right, / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall" (III, 99-100). The right state of things — whether in man, nature, or heaven — is harmony without strife. Unfallen Adam and Eve, though different in abilities, are not in any opposition, however fruitful. Eve accepts her husband's authority: "My author and disposer, what thou bidd'st / Unargued I obey (IV, 635-36). Similarly, Eden's perfection entails no partial evil: "without thorn the rose" (IV, 256). Constantly Milton's musical imagery stresses a concord not dependent on discord, a true harmony of diverse but not jarring elements, all obedient to divine moral law. The "mystic dance" of the unfallen angels resembled the motions of the uncorrupted heavenly bodies:

> Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
> Then most, when most irregular they seem:
> And in their motions harmony divine.
> (V, 620, 623-625)

The angelic symphony needs no discordant note. In their "charming symphony" there is "No voice exempt, no voice but well could join / Melodious part, such concord is in heav'n" (III, 368, 370-71). The "starry dance" of the constellations (III, 580 ff.) contrasts with the untuned soul of Satan as he flies to sow discord. In short, at creation, "all was entirely good" (VII, 549).

Just as the war in heaven is associated with "jarring spheres," runaway planets that "nature's concord broke" (VI, 315, 311), so the fall of man by sin brings discord, the loss of hierarchic harmony. "Usurping over sovran reason," sensual appetite

---

[6] All references to *Paradise Lost* are taken from the Norton Critical Edition, ed. by Scott Elledge (New York, 1975).

creates storms of emotional violence as "high winds worse within / Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate . . ." (IX, 1129-30, 1122-23). In parallel manner, the external world's harmony collapses into cacophony as

> Discord first
> Daughter of Sin, among the irrational,
> Death introduced through fierce antipathy:
> Beast now with beast gan war, fowl with fowl
> (X, 707-710).

"Spring / Perpetual" (X, 678) is lost as the world becomes a place inimical to man. Nowhere does one find the idea that by means of this discordancy of the seasons or savage struggle of the beasts any more than from the strife of man's passions a new harmony is produced. The discord is no inseparable part of the plenitude of a creation in which each disordered part, by virtue of its disorder, creates the best of possible worlds.

Satan, of course, is frustrated, and the defeat of his evil scheme only augments the glory of God. But this is not to say that evil is necessary for good; pure good is unmixed (like Eden), and Ultimate Goodness can finally vanquish evil. In his hate, Satan seeks to spoil creation and thwart divine love:

> If then his providence
> Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
> Our labor must be to pervert that end,
> And out of good still to find means of evil;
> (I, 162-165).

Ironically, "all his malice served but to bring forth / Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy shown / On man by him seduced . . ." (I, 217-219). There is here no genuine dynamic, ongoing conflict of opposites generating harmony; evil simply becomes the occasion for another manifestation of good, as the fallen angels' "spite still serves / His glory to augment" (II, 385-86). To use the clock analogy, popularized by the physico-theologians, evil is not a wheel on whose contrary motion the movement of other parts depends; instead it resembles a broken wheel whose repair testifies all the more to the watchmaker's skill and, more importantly here, to his love. The creation of man was itself a glorious act of "repair":

> But lest his heart exalt him in the harm
> Already done, to have dispeopled heav'n,
> My damage fondly deemed, I can repair
> That detriment . . .
> (VII, 150-154).

Man's fall occasions an even more glorious redemption through the Incarnation. But again, Divine Goodness does not need evil; It turns it to a greater good in which the evil has no part.

> Who seeks
> To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
> To manifest the more thy might: his evil
> Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
> (VII, 613-16).

The *felix culpa* motif thus involves the final victory of goodness over evil, the restoration of greater harmony from discord, the ability of "goodness immense" to make even "evil turn to good; more wonderful/Than that by which creation first brought forth/Light out of darkness" (XII, 469-473). The stress is on the glorious refutation of evil, not on any dynamic synthesis of evil and good. In saying he doubts "Whether I should repent me now of sin . . . or rejoice/Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring (XII, 474-76), Adam is not maintaining that sin should be embraced as leading to a greater good. "It is impossible to regard Adam's initial appetite for 'forbidden fruit' as a good, however providential its results may have been."[7] Instead, he seems torn between remorse for his terrible offence and admiration of the power of Providence to use that offence as the occasion for the consummate act of love in reasserting harmony. Indeed, the horror of this sin and of all human evil is such that only the revelation of the providential plan to undo the worst effects of sin in what remains a fallen world can rescue Adam from abject misery.

An Essay on Man

"All Discord, Harmony not understood" writes Pope in concluding Epistle I with a triumphant vindication of the providential design of creation.[8] The traditional world harmony metaphor remains, but a subtle shift has taken place, a change similar to that undergone by the Christian view of the world in the works of the physico-theologians whose demonstrations of the marvelous contrivances of the Creator left scant room for the sense of a fallen world. The general providence of the

---

[7]D. W. Robertson, Jr., p. 44.

[8]All references to Pope's poetry are from *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose,* 2nd edition, ed. William K. Wimsatt (New York: Rinehart, 1972).

Creator becomes the foundation of Pope's theodicy, not man's redemption from sin by Christ. The world's design is "A mighty maze! but not without a plan" (I, 6) more than a revealed mystery. Plenitude, gradation, and hierarchy are the rational bases which make sense of apparent disorder; rational philosophy replaces Scriptural myth.

The motives for this change were similar to those inspiring many of the virtuosi's confident scientific justifications of Christianity. The new science, revealing divine order everywhere, appeared to offer a firm and reasonable refuge from the disintegrative effects of sectarianism. Religion and thus moral conduct need not rest on disputed doctrinal fine points. Pope's prefatory statement stresses that his aim is to promote morality by founding the "science of Human Nature" on *"a few clear points"* demonstrable by reason and thereby to avoid the "disputes" that have divided men. He promises therefore to try "steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite." Hence the stress on general providence, a matter disputed neither by Christianity nor the science of his day.

The resulting rational theodicy, like its scientific forerunners, lessens the traditional emphasis on the fallen nature of the world. (Indeed, the idea of the decline of *human* society from a Golden Age replaces the Christian doctrine of the Fall, and this classical motif does not appear until Epistle Three.) Natural evil now is a necessary part of the best order possible in a world created on the basis on plenitude and hierarchical gradation:

> Where all must full or not coherent be,
> And all that rises, rise in due degree;
> (I, 45-46)

Thus natural evil is the necessary imperfection in the best of possible worlds rather than the tragic consequence of human sin which spoiled a paradise. Since "the first Almighty cause / Acts not by partial, but by general laws," "earthquakes" and "tempests," no matter how destructive, "break not Heaven's design," the fullness of which excludes "eternal springs and cloudless skies" (I, 145-156). Yet this very perpetual mildness of a benevolently harmonious nature was what the discord of sin destroyed in Milton's Biblical Eden. Now the discord is in a direct way integral to the grand harmony rather than a violation of it. *Concordia discors* becomes a symphony made of individually unpleasing notes.

What of moral evil? Is it also essential to the working of the

world, a vital contrary in a dynamic process? Michael Macklem contends that Pope indeed answers affirmatively and thereby completes a century of optimistic scientific reasoning by which a fallen earth and fallen humanity are "redeemed" and moral law, law as imperative, gives way to natural law in the sense of descriptive statement. If we "Account for moral as for natural things" (I, 161), then a Borgia, like an earthquake, is a necessary phenomenon. Descriptive statements about the invariable behavior of people replace moral condemnation. For moral and natural ills are the ingredients of the "elemental strife" by which "All subsists" (I, 169). A decisive step has been taken toward a "secular" or nonreligious view of the world.[9]

But Macklem's generally fine study does, it seems, put too fine a point on a few lines, slighting the general emphasis of Pope's poem. Moral obligation is at the heart of *An Essay on Man*. Concentrating on the nature of man in Epistle II, Pope rejects any mechanistic determinism. Human nature is not a collection of mindless appetites whose unrestrained indulgence will in some providential way eventuate in social utility. Rather, man is a delicate blend of "Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain" (1, 54). The "well accorded strife" of the passions (1, 121) gives vitality to life, but it is reason which creates the accord, the harmony, among the jarring elements. Without "Reason's comparing balance" man "flames lawless through the void/Destroying others, by himself destroyed" (60, 65-66). Reason can turn (we would say "sublimate") appetites and passions, and thus "Nero reigns a Titus, if he will" (197-98). The internal harmony now includes potentially discordant elements, but it does not arise from discord automatically. Vice remains "a monster" to be struggled against, though Providence, "Th' Eternal Art educing good from ill" (175), has arranged matters so that infusions of grace seem unnecessary; reason appears sufficient to tip the passions in a constructive direction.

Even the lines likening a Borgia or Catiline to an earthquake or plague (I, 155 ff.) are not a radical break with older conceptions of moral law. Accounting for such human monsters, Pope first gives the traditional religious explanations.

---

[9] Michael Macklem, *The Anatomy of the World: Relations Between Natural and Moral Law from Donne to Pope* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1958), see Pt. III, ch. 5, esp. p. 63.

The lines

> Who knows but he, whose hand the lightning forms,
> Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms

bring to mind God's majestic answer to Job's complaints while the following line says evil men are sent "to scourge mankind" (one of the poem's rare implications of God's particular or special providence). Then he resumes the philosophical explanation, to "Account for moral, as for natural things." But this does not exclude moral obligation. Instead, it means that man, in the plenitude of creation, must be a mix of reason and the winds of passion. As clarified in Epistle II, "Reason the card" has the duty to control "the gale" of passion (II, 108). If reason fails, then passions become "Our greatest evil" (92), and we have monsters like Borgia. A less 'full' universe, one of "eternal springs" and perpetually "temperate, calm, and wise" men (I, 153-54), might better suit man, but it is Pope's constant purpose to urge that man must submit to Providence's chain of creation in which man is but a link, "as perfect as he ought" (I, 70), rather than the creature for whom all else was made. The theme is the traditional denunciation of the pride by which "Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel" against the Order of Providence. (However, what is characteristic of Pope's age is the theodicy that accounts for evil in terms of a rational, plenitudinous Order rather than by the Fall, which is alluded to here in conditional and unhistorical terms, "If Angels fell," "Men rebel.")

This denunciation of "reasoning Pride" separates Pope from the deists, with their astonishing confidence in men's power always and everywhere to discern the "few, simple ideas" adequate to a fully moral life.[10] Yet even to this traditional injunction against pride Pope takes an approach more typical of the physico-theologians like Robert Boyle and William Derham than Milton in that he emphasizes that man's powers, like those of all other creatures, are nicely fitted to man's "nature and his state" (I, 192 ff.), thus man is "as perfect as he ought." But just as the analogy of the world to a giant clockwork mechanism could to the generations following the virtuosi leave the sense of a remote deity, so also some of Pope's lines contain the seeds of

---

[10] For a persuasive refutation of the persistent idea that *An Essay on Man* is a deistical poem see G. Douglas Atkins, "Pope and Deism: A New Analysis" in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 35 (1971-72), 257-278.

Central to the deist position is confidence in human reason.

a conception of God that has little sense of a personal, loving, and immediate presence. In the fullness of the machanism of the universe

> Man, who here seems principal alone
> Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
> Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal.
> (I, 57-59)

Of course, the point here is the necessity of "such a rank as Man" in a universe actualizing the largest possible number of kinds of being; Pope is not some modern existentialist or atheist envisioning a universe utterly alien to human aspirations. This is a theodicy. Man is not a lamb doomed to be slaughtered by an indifferent cosmos, but like the lamb he is providentially spared full knowledge of "the book of Fate." Still, this picture differs somewhat from seeing man as the center of cosmic drama of salvation, as in *Paradise Lost,* an actor on the world stage with God as the attentive and loving audience and the author of the play. Even the Book of Job conveys this sense of the particular intervention of Providence to test man through suffering. In Pope the stress is more on general providence, the basic order of the larger creation which may require human suffering. The personal, loving Father directly concerned with the welfare of each of his children becomes the august Creator

> Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
> A hero perish, or sparrow fall,
> (I, 87-88)

The "kindly" providence is here a general one operating at creation to apportion due degrees of ignorance rather than an immediate one which watches the fall of the sparrow and, much more so, the lives of men who are "of more value than many sparrows" (Matt. 10:31).

The change is a subtle one, but an indication of the direction things would move in once the synthesis of tradition and the new scientific rationalism ceased to hold. No more than the virtuosi of the Royal Society does Pope exclude God from the

---

Toland maintained (confusedly) that mysteries like everything else can be judged by a Lockean standard of the agreement of ideas. See *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696, fasc. ed. 1964), p. 7 ff., p. 21 ff. Tindal saw all men as being capable of apprehending by reason alone the intrinsic signs of the natural moral laws (though, somehow, priestcraft had always managed to impose its superstitions on men throughout the ages). See *Christianity as Old as Creation* (London, 1731 ed.), pp. 5-6; also XIII, 209 ff.

world: God is "the soul" informing and giving being to all creation: "He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all" (I, 268 ff., 280). The chain of being is a "chain of Love" linking each creature to others with bonds of mutual dependence and service (III, 7 ff.). In the social realm, this becomes the traditional medieval concept of society as a gradation of dependencies and obligations. But the old idea receives a foundation characteristic of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century when Pope explains how government arises from the state of nature due to man's fear and self-interest as "All join to guard what each desires to gain." Typical of his delicate blending of ideas, Pope avoids the atomistic and selfish implications of Hobbes by seeing a real transformation of vice into virtue:

> Forced into virtue thus by Self-defence,
> Even Kings learned justice and benevolence.
> Self-love forsook the path it first pursued
> (III, 278-281).

Again, the harmonic image returns, bolstered by an infusion of the new rationalism. But now the harmony includes and depends upon egocentric passions whose operations seem to occupy a larger place in the functioning of society. Civilizers gradually lifted men from barbarism

> Taught Power's due use to People and to Kings,
> Taught not to slack, nor strain its tender strings,
> . . .
> Till jarring interests, of themselves create
> Th' according music of a well-mixed State.
> Such is the World's great harmony, that springs
> From Order, Union, full Consent of Things:
> (III, 289-90, 292-96)

Pope's vision, like his traditional metaphor, remains within an older intellectual frame, one whose focus is still religious and moral. Like the Providence he celebrates, Pope gently educes older meanings from new elements. But for a multitude of reasons, including the impressive advances of the new science and the revulsion at religious bloodshed (both of which influenced Pope's choice of rational, providential bases for his theodicy), the synthesis would not endure, however internally coherent its fine adjustments might be. A bland faith in a general order would outlast the sense of marvelous providential design; then the "jarring elements" in man and society would appear to

create a prosperous order that needed neither a sustaining divine soul nor the preacher's admonitions.

This paper forms part of a longer study undertaken during an NEH Summer Seminar at the University of Florida (1976). To the Endowment for providing me with the opportunity for research and study and to Professor Aubrey Williams for making the seminar an invaluable experience in every way, my deepest thanks.

CONTROL OF PROFESSIONALS IN ORGANIZATIONS: PROFESSIONAL VERSUS BUREAUCRATIC MODELS

by

Jackson E. Ramsey
Department of Marketing and Management

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, professionals were considered to be doctors, lawyers, and clergymen who were (or who were considered to be) self-employed, and who sold their expertise to the public. In this century, particularly since the 1940's, both the concept of those considered professionals and their employment techniques have changed.

Although detailed discussion of the definition is beyond the scope of this paper, William Kornhauser lists four criteria he believes are implicit in professional values.[1] These are: 1) specialized competence that has a considerable intellectual content, 2) extensive autonomy in exercising the special competence, 3) strong commitment to a career based upon the special competence, and, 4) influence and responsibility in the use of the special competence. Kornhauser considers the following typical professional areas: engineers, professors, accountants, teachers, journalists, artists, architects, dentists, clergymen, musicians, pharmacists, lawyers, physicians, and scientists, including social scientists.[2] Obviously this list would bring substantial disagreement among other authors defining professional areas.

Along with the increase in individuals considered professionals, an increasing percentage of the work in each area is being carried out by people who are employed in large organizations, not self-employed. In fact, Kornhauser points out in 1950 over 80% of engineers, professors, journalists, clergymen, scientists, accountants, and teachers were employed in

---

[1] Kornhauser, William, *Scientists in Industry,* (Berkley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1962), p. 11.

[2] *Ibid,* pp. 4-10.

organizations, while over 40 % of the artists, architects, musicians, and pharmacists were.[3] Only lawyers, doctors, and dentists remained with over 60 % non-organizational employees. Since 1950, the literature would suggest even larger percentages in almost all of the areas to be employed by organizations.

This growth in the number of professionals and the change in their method of employment means that relatively large numbers of individuals whose viewpoint is that of a professional are now members of an organization whose viewpoint may (probably will) be different from that of a professional. Kornhauser breaks these viewpoints into two models, a professional model, where peer group control (among many other concepts) is fundamental and a bureaucratic model, where hierarchial control is required. Before comparing these two models, let us consider each one separately, as well as comparing professional peer group control with other peer group control.

BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL

Max Weber defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance," and authority as "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[4] Authority is more specifically differentiated from power in that the orders of the person in authority are voluntarily carried out. This is because the individual carrying out the orders considers it legitimate for the person or institution giving the orders to control them. Authority does not include persuasion, since the person in control does not reason with another, but asks his subordinate to suspend his power of judgement and accept the orders from his superior as his basis for action.

The two criteria of authority, then, are willingness by the subordinate to voluntarily comply with legitimate command, and suspension of judgement by the subordinate in advance of command. Blau and Scott note that these are not simple to obtain, and that authority mainly comes from social acceptance of these criteria, with group norms to help enforce conformity,

---

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[4] Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* A.M. Henderson and T. Parson, translators, (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1947), p. 152, p. 324.

rather than from influence or coercion by the superior.[5]

Weber defines three types of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal.[6]

"Traditional" authority is legitimized by time and tradition. The present social system is viewed as inviolable, with the ruling group ordained to rule, and with the subjects bound to their rulers by traditional feelings of personal loyalty and other cultural beliefs that reinforce the social order. Examples of traditional authorities are absolute monarchies as well as patriarchal families. In general, the power of the leader is great. Traditional authority is not adapted to social change (and, indeed, is generally very much against it) since the legitimization of commands come from past history and traditions.

The second concept is that of "charismatic" authority. A leader and his mission are inspired by supernatural powers, with his followers being converted to a new social movement or cause. Charismatic authority is generally revolutionary in nature, rejecting traditional values and the established authorities. The sense of mission overrides organization and economic considerations. Eventually, desires to perpetuate the movement require organizing, and some more normal form of social organization arises. This is necessary since the power base of the charismatic leader is unstable (he must die eventually) and another power base is necessary to continue his mission (and control, if any.)

"Legal" authority is legitimized by belief in law. Formally established bodies of social norms exist to organize conduct, with obedience owed to a set of impartial principles, not a traditional or charismatic leader. Directives from a higher office are to be followed, regardless of the specific individual who holds that office. The superior, however, may not abuse this relationship, since he is subject to the same impartial regulations and his authority is limited. The staff of administrators to carry out the system of legal authority gives rise to Weber's theory of bureaucracy.

Weber and Blau and Scott list the following distinctive

---

[5] Blau, Peter M., and Scott, Richard, *Formal Organizations,* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962), p. 30.

[6] Weber, *op. cit.,* pp. 324-386.

characteristics of Weber's bureaucratic organization.[7]

1. Organization tasks are distributed as official duties. A clear out division of labor makes possible a high degree of specialization, resulting in a promotion of expertise, and enabling the organization to hire employees on the basis of their technical qualifications.

2. The positions are organized into a pyramidal hierarchy where a position is responsible to the position above him for the positions below him, with the scopes of authority and responsibility clearly defined.

3. A formally established written system of rules and regulations govern official decisions and actions, with these decisions being the application of the general rules to the specific cases. These regulations insure uniformity of operation, and, since they remain the same regardless of the people involved, provide good organizational stability.

4. Officials are to be impersonal in their contacts with clients and other officials, discarding personal and emotional considerations. This formal treatment allows officials to use rational judgement in carrying out their duties since their personal feelings are not involved.

5. Employment as an official is based upon the technical qualifications of the candidate, often through examination, rather than on political or family ties. Officials are appointed, hence they are dependent upon their superior rather than clients or the public. Salaried wage payments, tenure, and pensions provide necessary security, and career advancements are to a large degree based upon seniority.

In Weber's view "the decisive reason for the advance of the bureaucratic organization has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization."[8] Individuals with experience are best qualified to make correct decisions, and consistent performance governed by rules and principles gives a rational and even pursuit of organizational objectives.

Weber considers his bureaucracy an ideal type rather than a description of an operating official. He has been criticized for this by, among others, Merton, since he looks only at the functional aspects of bureaucracy and not the dysfunctional

---

[7] Gerth, H. H., and Mills, C. Wright, *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1946), pp. 196-204; Blau and Scott, *op. cit.,* pp. 30-38.

[8] Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.,* pp. 214.

ones.[9] He ignored informal organizations, friendships, and natural leaders, and did not consider potential problems like the rules becoming goals in themselves, and a lack of official responsibility since the rules carry the responsibility.[10] In spite of criticism and a few alternate organizational forms, Weber's bureaucratic model has been followed to a large degree by most large and medium sized American firms.

Weber saw his legal form of administration as a natural development to increase productivity in administration, similar to what division of labor was then doing in manufacturing. He assumed technical authority and authority of position would coincide, a situation that is not always the case, particularly with professionals in an organization.

In summary, Weber developed a bureaucratic model where depersonalized actions are taken by technically competent individuals performing well defined jobs to written rules and regulations, and who viewed their positions as their occupations, and owed their allegiance and received their rewards from the organization.

PROFESSIONAL MODEL

Blau and Scott and Kornhauser consider a number of elements characteristic of professionals.[11] Among these are: 1) professional decisions and actions are governed by internal standards based upon specialized knowledge and training. 2) The professional is an expert in a relatively narrow field, and he enjoys no particular confidence or authority outside of this field. 3) The professional treats clients in an impersonal way, and does not become emotionally involved so that he may exercise reasonable judgement. 4) Professional status is based upon individual performance, not family ties, judged by his peer group.

So far these characteristics are similar to those ascribed to individuals in a bureaucracy. The rest differ, however.

---

[9] Merton, Robert K., *Social Theory and Social Structure,* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1963), pp. 50-54.

[10] Blau and Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 35; Ry-Nielsen, Jens C., *Organization Theorists - A Review,* Working Paper No. 122, School of Management, State University of New York at Buffalo, Fall, 1971, p. 15.

[11] Blau and Scott, *op. cit.,* pp. 60-74; Kornhauser, *op. cit.,* pp. 20-32, and pp. 66-75.

5) Only the professional or his peer group can establish proper standards for evaluation of professional work. Ability to judge success or failure is very complex and should be done only by those trained in the discipline. 6) A professional desires free communication, since reputation is to a large degree based upon publications, and an interchange of changing knowledge is necessary to retain expertise in the field.

7) Professional decisions should not be based on the professional's self interest. While it is naive to assume the professional is not concerned about his personal economic status, his long run advantage comes from serving the client's needs, not his own. 8) Control of the professional resides in the professional community rather than in the organization. Professionals normally join voluntary organizations for the purpose of self control, a control which is legitimized by society's acceptance of the right of the professional organization to judge members by its own needs.[12]

Blau and Scott list two main sources of professional control.[13] 1) As a result of the long training period undergone by the professional he is expected to have acquired expert knowledge in his field and to have developed or acquired a code of ethics to govern his conduct. 2) Self control is supported by external peer surveillance of conduct. These peers, since they have a personal stake in the reputation of the profession, will execute sanctions as necessary. Thus the main source of control is that of the peer group.

Blau and Scott and Kornhauser do not appear to consider their definitions to apply to an "ideal" professional, although it appears that this is just as "ideal" a definition as is Weber's bureaucrat. Only Vollmer and Mills in their lengthy definitions and discussions of professions and professionals spell out specifically their development of ideal models, and note specifically that they are not attempting to describe real professionals in practice.[14] Likewise, criticism of professional models has not been as great as that of bureaucratic models, although some of the bureaucratic criticisms of rules becoming goals and

---

[12] Goode, William, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review,* 22 (1957), p. 198.

[13] Blau and Scott, *op. cit.,* pp. 63-70.

[14] Vollmer, Howard M., and Mills, Donald L., *Professionalism,* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1966), p. vii.

depersonalization apply equally as well to professionals. In addition, other criticisms such as inefficiency and validity of peer group control could also be made.

In summary, the professional model has some of the characteristics of a bureaucratic model, but differs mainly in commitment to the profession and control by professional peer groups rathers than loyalty to and control by the organization.

PROFESSIONAL PEER GROUPS AND OTHER PEER GROUPS

Other peer groups fall into at least two general types, informal groups, and formal groups such as labor unions. While there are some differences between professional peer groups and other peer groups, many differences are a matter of degree.

All peer groups develop ethics, norms, and standards of behavior to which conformity is expected. In general, however, these norms are that of members of the work place or a similar type group only. MacIver, however, reports that a special characteristic of professionals is that they develop norms with respect to dealing with people outside the peer group, such as clients.[15]

Most professional peer groups cut across work establishment lines, while most other groups are centered by geographical location in one place, such as the informal work group in the bank wiring room at the Hawthorne Works or at the local union. This lack of daily close contact means different mechanisms of control, such as associations, are necessary for professionals.

The professional is recognized as an expert in a relatively narrow scope of action and knowledge. As such, his peers attempt to control only the part of his activities that are in this speciality area, and do not attempt to exert control over the rest of his activities. In many other groups the perceived areas of control are broader, and the peer group will attempt to control activities over a broader sphere of influence, i.e., the entire workplace, and, perhaps, actions outside the workplace. Blau and Scott note specific examples of this from the Hawthorne studies.[16]

---

[15] MacIver, R. M., "Professional Groups and Professional Norms," pp. 50-55, in Vollmer and Mills, *op. cit.*

[16] Blau and Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-96.

One of the major differences, partially due to membership cutting across job-place lines, is that a greater formality exists among professionals in mechanisms of control. Professionals subscribe to written codes of ethics, while other peer groups conform to no less explicit but unwritten norms.

Kornhauser considers that "the professional association has been the key mechanism of control in the predominately self-employed professions," and notes that while it may not dominate as strongly in the salaried professions, it is nevertheless quite strong.[17] Professional associations often control entry into the professions by means of college degrees or graduation from association accredited schools (the medical and library associations are noted for this), and often have had enough influence to write their requirments into law. They provide policies on fees, advertising, etc., and, as well as enforcing these, provide general control on activities deemed to be "professional." Again, partially because members are dispersed, the association will have a formal sanction system, involving censure or even removal from the profession, as well as a formal reward system, generally prestige items. Professional associations can vary from learned academic groups to professional unions, and the depth and degree of formalized control mechanisms vary with them. Nevertheless all are more formal than most other peer group controls.

In summary, the major differences between professional peer group control and other peer group control are the formalized mechanisms of peer group control necessary to compensate for the dispersed locations of the professionals, and the relatively narrow range of actions controlled by the professional peer groups.

CONTROL APPROACH COMPARISON

It is often stated that bureaucratic control and professional peer group control are diametrically opposed, and even Kornhauser first states that "control can be exercised on the principle of hierarchial control *or* on the basis of colleagueship," before he goes on to point out that professionals are able to function in organizations.[18] Weber also felt that the use of

---

[17] Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

bureaucratic control weakened the role of collegiality in control, but he did not specifically say they were directly opposite.[19] Blau and Scott question the assumption that professionalism and bureaucracy are alternate methods of control and note that a combination of the two exist in a great many organizations.[20]

If an organization permits its professional employees to be identified solely as professionals it will have difficulty motivating them to help achieve the goals of the organization. If, on the other hand, the organization stresses organization goals at the expense of professionalism it might weaken professional initiative and creativity. Since many organizations desire these qualities from professionals, they face the dilemma of deciding the correct degree of integration to obtain commitment to organizational goals without the loss of professional worth.

Perhaps the best way to compare the two methods of control is to look at the differences in them that could cause friction for the professional in an organization.

Kornhauser notes four major areas where built-in friction exists for professionals in organizations.[21] These are goals, controls, incentives, and influence of professional work. The goals of an organization and of the professionals are often not the same, with the organization desiring commitment to its products rather than to the speciality. Organizational control tends to be hierarchial, while professionals prefer peer group control. Organizations reward loyalty with status in the organization, and professional groups with status in the profession. These two definitions of loyalty to status probably do not agree. Organizational authority is generally executive authority over a broad range, with authority derived from the office, while professional authority is more narrow and bases its legitimacy on special competence.

Kornhauser also lists four critical points in the organization at which the problem of control is more visible: recruitment, organization, supervision, and communication of professionals.[22]

In service organizations recruitment is normally done by the professional group, while in commercial organizations it is

---

[19] Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

[20] Blau and Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[21] Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-18.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-82.

normally an administrative function. In the latter case this conflicts with the professional view that they should be the only one to judge their own profession. In addition, the administrative recruiter may seek individuals who will be more committed to the organization than the profession, an approach that the professional association and other professionals within the organization may not like.

The problem of organization centers on the question of whether to organize professionals into groups based upon disciplines or to organize them into project groups. The first method improves technical competence, while the second combines different skills in a group aimed at a specific task. Task groups are often temporary, while specialized groups normally are permanent, and allow for specialization within the profession. Shepard feels that task groups are more efficient, but notes that professional pressures more frequently result in a functional organization.[23] This is because status and stability are more clearcut in functional groups and because control is more clearly defined.

The organization generally desires supervisors who are oriented towards the organization rather than towards the profession, while the professionals desire supervisors who are loyal to them rather than to the organization. Management normally desires supervisors who have administrative expertise and who can exercise tight control over work, while professionals desire a supervisor with technical competence who is advisory rather than directive. In most organizations control by supervisors is set up to insure that the professionals work results is of interest to the firm. Recognizing that this might not fill the professional's desires of creativity some firms (mostly in research areas) allow a certain percentage of organizational paid time to be devoted to the individual's private research with the hope of achieving a more satisfied professional and greater output on organizational products.

Kruytbosch provides an interesting example of an engineering group whose supervisor's loyalties were to his group as a unit and who fostered in them a cynical philosophy of the management above him.[24] His unit was so successful in terms

---

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[24] Kruytbosch, Carlos E., *Management Styles and Social Structure in "Identical" Engineering Groups,* Working Paper No. 130, School of Management, State University of New York at Buffalo, undated (1971-72).

of goal implementation and output, however, that it was sought after in the firm, so that running his area to a large part on collegial control also carried out the organization's projects very effectively.

Some professionals recognize "privileged communications" between the professional and his client, but, in general, open and free communications is desired by professionals since to a large degree a professional's reputation is based upon published works. In contrast, commercial firms generally treat product and administrative information as important for their competitive position, and desire high degrees of secrecy concerning them. This is not unreasonable considering the inadequacies of the patent and copyright laws, but it is in direct conflict with the professional's desires for free communication. Organizations will often set up mechanisms to control information flow, including submission of articles for approval prior to publication, and attempts to minimize outside professional contacts by not sending individuals to meetings, not paying association dues, etc.

Scott also compares the bureaucratic and professional models, and lists the same general areas of conflicts and comments, but in different ways.[25]

A professional tends to resist bureaucratic rules because the rules are intended for an individual who performs only one part of a task, while the professional feels he can perform an entire task. While this may not be true at times (the operation was a success but the patient died), professionals tend to regard rules of the organization as means to an end and do not follow them as closely as do bureaucrats.

The professional also rejects the bureaucrat's standards, in part because he is more concerned about the abstract applications of standards to himself than he is the practical application of the standards to the group as a whole. The professional is generally trained outside the organization and brings to the organization already developed standards, while the administrator to a much greater degree is trained on the job and tends to accept the already existing standards to a greater degree.

Scott also notes that the professional resists supervision by a

---

[25] Scott, W. Richard, "Professionals in Bureaucracy - Areas of Conflict," pp. 265-275, in Vollmer and Mills, *op. cit.*

bureaucrat, primarily since the bureaucrat derives his authority from his position while the professional would prefer to have his supervisor's authority come from the supervisor's technical expertise. He also notes that most professionals resent close supervision in any case and resent it even more from an administrator than from a technical supervisor.

The professional is only partially loyal to the organization with his commitment dependent on his evaluation of the organization's facilities and programs compared to others of which he is familiar. Because of his on the job training the bureaucrat is likely to exhibit a higher degree of loyalty to the firm than is the professional. In addition the administrator is more likely to change work assignments within the same firm, while the professional is more likely to change organizations than work areas.

The main differences between hierarchial and professional control can be summarized as follows. A professional is bound by norms and ethics to serve a client, while the bureaucrat's main responsibility is to the organization. The bureaucrat's authority is derived from the legal aspects of his position, while the professional's authority is derived from his technical competence. The professional's actions are to be guided by internalized professional standards, while the bureaucrat's actions are to be governed by directives from superiors. Finally, when the decision of a bureaucrat is questioned the final authority is that of organization management. When the decision of a professional is questioned the right of review is reserved to the professional colleague group.

Yet it is obvious in the literature that, in spite of the potential for conflicts that do exist, most professionals working in an organization do come to at least a reasonable (if not satisfactory) working arrangement. Etzioni suggests a very reasonable arrangement to make these conditions, in general, more satisfactory by suggesting a split of authority so that goal activities are controlled by professionals and means activities by administrators, with overall supervision by a man who has greater administrative skill and authority than the average professional, and more professional skill than the average administrator. [26]

---

[26] Kruytbosch, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

SELF-DEFINITION IN MANSFIELD PARK AND JOAN DIDION'S PLAY IT AS IT LAYS

by
Patricia D. Anderson
Department of English

If novels in general have been written in what Northrop Frye calls the low-mimetic mode[1]—the mode that deals with people like ourselves—it is to be expected that novels of various cultures will reflect cultural concepts of "self." Ian Watt has pointed out that the rise of the novel in the 18th century coincided with the rise of individualism,[2] or in other words, with the rise of an enhanced sense of self. The heroine of *Clarissa Harlowe,* generally acknowledged to be the first psychological novel, has an impulse toward self-definition, toward establishing what she will do and not do, be and not be, that we do not see earlier in English literature. The point of her story is that she will not do what is expected of her—marry for money, as her family expect, or marry her seducer Lovelace, as he expects—but will maintain her integrity at any cost.

This affirmation of self, which was to become a central element of romanticism by the beginning of the nineteenth century, breaks down in the beginning of the twentieth with the rise of naturalism: if we are no more than what heredity and environment make us, we *are* heredity and environment, and all attempts at self-definition are futile; the very concept of a defined self—a finite entity distinct from the rest of the universe—becomes blurred. An illustration of these two attitudes toward self-definition—as of prime importance in one case and as futile in the other—may be furnished by a comparison between Jane Austen's romantic novel *Manfield Park*[3] and Joan Didion's contemporary—but still naturalistic—novel *Play It As It Lays.*[4]

---

[1] *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 34-37.

[2] *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), p.20.

[3] R. W. Chapman, ed. (3rd ed.), *The Novels of Jane Austen* III (Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 147. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[4] (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1970).

Lionel Trilling quotes the American philosopher George Mead as saying that "assumption of roles was one of the most important elements of romanticism . . . . it was the self's method of defining itself."[5] Thus, the self defined itself by playing its part in a system of human relations based upon clearly defined and generally accepted values. In other words, Fanny inherited a culture. Fanny Price does indeed maintain her integrity by assuming a role—that of the lowest and least in the family of a worthy baronet. Paradoxically, by playing this submissive role so successfully, she is able to define herself as the ruling spirit of Mansfield Park. It is through her eyes that we see and judge all that happens there. Even Edmund, who "encouraged her taste and corrected her judgment," (p. 22) who, "having formed her mind and gained her affections . . . had a good chance of her thinking like him," (p. 64) is not spared from these judgments. And with each one, she defines herself: she affirms "I am not Maria, not Lady Bertram, not Edmund; I am Fanny." Finally, her judgment prevails at the Park: Sir Thomas himself, as he looks back over his own conduct at the end of the novel, judges it by Fanny's standards.

She herself is by no means exempt from her own judgment: she struggles hard to control and if possible to eliminate the elements of selfishness in her feelings for Edmund and her brother William, her two dearest. She is quick to notice her tendencies to exploit these two for her own gratification, and rigorous in restraining them. Thus she is no more subject to her own impulses than to the behavior of those about her. She has learned to subordinate her impulses to her role, and thus can say not only "I am Fanny," but "I am the Fanny I choose to be."

But not all the characters are capable of this process of self-definition. Miss Austen, although she insists upon how important it is to struggle and to endure, gives to circumstance its due weight. She carefully traces the influences that impel Fanny to judge well and the other young women in the story to judge ill: Mary Crawford has "good feelings," but she has been spoiled; she has been brought up by a worldly and cynical woman who has indulged her, while Fanny is a poor relation who is the disciple of the upright and devout Edmund. The Bertram girls, satisfied with their position as the "finest young women in the

---

[5]Lionel Trilling, *"Mansfield Park,"* Partisan Review XXI (1954), p. 502. I am indebted to Lionel Trilling's discussion of the amateur theatricals for some of the ideas developed later in this paper.

country" (p. 44), acquiesce in their roles rather than assume them consciously, and thus, like Mary, fail to play them properly. Fanny, we may say, has reasons for taking the pains to study her script.

Joan Didion's Maria Wyeth, on the other hand, has been given no script to study: she has *not* inherited a culture. Ms. Didion, in several of the articles collected under the title *Slouching Toward Bethlehem,* expresses a dread of the moral decay of our society consequent upon parents' not having succeeded in transmitting the culture to their children—that is, in providing them with social roles. Instead of a script, Maria has been given a percentage sheet. As the title indicates, she has been taught that she must go out and win; but what is a winner? She discovers that a winner is not a role-player, but a games-player—a gambler, who has no basis for choice (judgment) except a hunch. She discovers too that a gambler, as the psychologists tell us, is always a compulsive loser; thus, except in the short view, no one can win—all games-players are born losers. Assumption of a role becomes the playing of roles: instead of being "the self's method of defining itself," it becomes a series of plays in a losing game. If we may express the action of each novel in Stanislavsky's infinitive phrase, *Mansfield Park's* is "to become the ruling spirit of the place," while that of *Play It As It Lays* is, to quote Wilfred Sheed, "to feel for the bottom of hell . . . so as to shove up from there."[6]

Maria's descent into hell begins when she accepts the role of photographer's model. The acquiescent character of this role has been often noted in print and on screen: Maria acquiesces in the role of acquiescer. Unlike an actress, her job is not to master and perform a role, but to strike poses on demand. She doesn't even really want to be a model; she wants to stay home in Silver Wells with her mother. But already she can neither do nor be anything but what is expected of her. Instead of affirming her "self," as Clarissa Harlowe and Fanny do, she asks forlornly "Am I my father? My mother? Ivan? Carter? Kate? Who am I?" From her percentage sheet, Maria has learned only to "assess quite rapidly the shifting probabilities on a craps layout" and that "overturning a rock was apt to reveal a rattlesnake. As lessons go, these two seem to hold up, but not to apply." (p. 200). That is, these lessons, which are that life is ruled by forces

[6] Wilfred Sheed, "An Expert Witness to Pain," *Life,* July 31, 1970, p. 13.

largely beyond our control, do not apply to making value judgments.

"What makes Iago evil? some people ask. I never ask."

This is the opening paragraph of the novel. The nature of evil, or its causes, do not apply to her situation, Maria feels. She writes on the preference tests the doctors give her "NOTHING APPLIES" (p. 4). "Everything goes," she writes later (p. 8). "I am working very hard at not thinking about how everything goes." "Nothing" is thus, logically enough, the polar opposite of "everything." Everything, severally and in sum, continues to recede from Maria, until in the end the only thing that remains, that applies, that is an adequate (or even possible) answer to any question, is "nothing." "Nothing" is the controlling metaphor of *Play It As It Lays,* as "judging" if of *Mansfield Park.* "Nothing" takes on a positive character, and is equated with Maria herself: she cannot define herself, her husband, her children, her parents, her home, her profession. For Maria, in Neuropsychiatric, the boundary between self and other has almost ceased to exist, and so has she.

Maria is passive not only toward her environment, but toward her past. While Fanny finds it possible to alter her situation, Maria cannot cease to be what she has been. And what she has been, persistently and from the beginning, is—violated. The injunction "be sexually attractive" (the name of the modeling game), resolved into an action image, becomes "spread your legs." Maria follows this injunction to the point of being reduced to no more than a sexual organ. The four-letter epithet used with increasing frequency as the story approaches its climax seems to express what everybody feels about her, which, for Maria, is of course indistinguishable from what she feels about herself. By the time she goes to the desert to join Carter on location, she is reduced to a sex machine that no longer works: "Well *go* to sleep, cunt. Go to sleep. Die. Fucking vegetable" (p. 185). This is the point at which her foot touches the bottom of hell.

If Didion's novel confirms the idea that treating life as a game to be won precludes the possibility of assuming a life role, Jane Austen's implies the converse. To commit oneself to a role, to acting effectively the part of a landowner, a parent, a member of Parliament, means precisely to be willing to sacrifice "winning," "getting ahead," and games-playing in general to the proper performance of the role: Maria Bertram and Mary Crawford both try their hand at the marriage game; and both

lose. And whereas winning a game is contingent upon other people's losing it, a role is not conceivable except in cooperation with other roles—the better each plays his part, the better the play. We discover from the amateur theatricals at Mansfield what is objectionable to the self-defining temper about theatricals, charades, masked balls, or impersonations of any kind: they throw the self out of its proper cooperative role. Henry was delighted to hold hands with Maria in the rehearsals for *Lovers' Vows,* because he felt it didn't commit him to anything; if he had done it in real life, he would have had to marry her. Mary Crawford found it poignantly sweet to play the part of a baronet's daughter who marries a poor clergyman; in real life, she could not bring herself to give up her gay London life to be the wife of a country parson. To impersonate is to act without taking responsibility for the consequences.

Many readers seem to have been shocked that the Mansfield Park theatricals should have been considered objectionable, and have leapt to the conclusion that the objections are accountable to no more than a priggish and ill-natured disinclination in Fanny (or in Miss Austen) to see people enjoy themselves. But the author is very precisely explicit about what was objectionable. It comes out in the conversation between Edmund and Tom on the subject.

" 'In a *general* light, private theatricals are open to some objections,' " begins Edmund. (Chapman, p. 125). He has already indicated to Julia (p. 124) what these objections are: " 'gentlemen and ladies . . . have all the disadvantages of education and decorum to struggle through' " before they can act successfully. That is, to behave with the expressiveness necessary to good acting is inconsistent with the training in responsibility (which involves restraining the expression of any feelings they are not willing to stand by later) that they have received as upperclass persons. In this connection, it turns out that Henry Crawford is by far the best actor among them; and it is he who later engages in conduct so notably unbecoming a gentleman.

Edmund goes on with his more specific objections. " 'But as *we* are circumstanced, I must think it would be highly injudicious, and more than injudicious, to attempt anything of the kind. It would show great want of feeling on my father's account, absent as he is, and in some degree of constant danger [it would violate their roles of sons and daughters]; and it would be imprudent, I think, with regard to Maria, whose situation is a

very delicate one, considering everything, extremely delicate [it would violate her role as wife-to-be of Mr. Rushworth].' "

In the event, the theatricals do indeed give Henry Crawford the opportunity of flirting with Maria,[7] convincing her (untruly) that he is in love with her, ruining any satisfaction she might have experienced in her marriage, finally ruining himself with Fanny (violating his role as a serious lover) and his sister with Edmund, and pressing Julia into a marriage she has no inclination to. The undesirable features of the theatricals have surely had a very careful solidity of specification.

But film goes beyond mere impersonation: the violence is done to the life role not by the actor but by the camera. Fellini refuses to tell his "actors" what sort of character they are playing, still less what the total action of the film is. The interest of film becomes pictorial rather than developmental, geared to *gestalt* rather than *mythos*. The film actor, instead of impersonating someone not himself and running the risk of self-erosion, becomes merely a part of a visual pattern and must run the risk of becoming an object—and an object not of use, but merely of observation.

> The first picture, the picture never distributed, was called *Maria*. Carter had simply followed Maria around New York and shot film. It was not until they moved to California and Carter began cutting the film together that she entirely realized what he was doing. The picture showed Maria doing a fashion sitting, Maria asleep on a couch at a party, Maria on the telephone arguing with the billing department at Bloomingdale's, Maria cleaning some marijuana with a kitchen strainer, Maria crying on the IRT. At the end she was thrown into negative and looked dead. The picture lasted seventy-four minutes and had won a prize at a festival in Eastern Europe and Maria did not like to look at it. She had once heard that students at UCLA and USC talked about using her the way commercial directors talked about using actresses who got a million dollars a picture, but she had never talked to any of them (sometimes they walked up to Carter in front of a theater or a bookstore and introduced themselves, and Carter would introduce Maria, and they would look sidelong at Maria while they talked to Carter about coming to see their film programs, but Maria had nothing to say to them, avoided their eyes, and she disliked their having seen her in that first picture).(pp. 20, 21)

---

[7]Avrom Fleishman, in *A Reading of Mansfield Park* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967), p. 26, finds it curious that their roles were mother and son. But even in my own youth, the parent-child or sibling relationship was the only one which allowed of stage carresses: the incest barrier, in those days, was sufficient to allay the audience's guilt for the pleasure.

Photography has created a society of unaware exhibitionists vis-a-vis voyeurs of shadows.

In the other, commercial, film that Carter made of her, the one where the girl on the screen did *not* seem like herself, Maria played a girl who been raped by a motorcycle gang. "She liked watching the picture: the girl on the screen seemed to have a definite knack for controlling her own destiny." (p. 20). The *Angel Beach* girl was able to disengage herself from actual violation and enroll in college; Maria, filmed without her knowledge and identified by everyone she knew with the Maria in the film—"reduced" to her, in fact—keeps on and on being raped. Her parents have started her on her career of exhibitionism, which is a violation of her love for them; she dramatizes this situation with Ivan, who promises her nothing *but* violation:

> "I want to tell you right now I'm never going to do anything again," Ivan Costello had said in the beginning. "If you want to live that way, O.K. There's not going to be any money and there's not going to be any eating breakfast together and there's not going to be any getting married and there's not going to be any baby makes three. And if you make any money, I'll spend it." (p. 142)

Carter, less obviously a predator, violates her directly by making *Maria,* indirectly by putting her in *Angel Beach.* He goes on to make deeper inroads upon her by committing their three-year-old daughter Kate to an institution and discouraging contact between her and Maria. Again, as with her mother, a man renders her helpless to do anything for the person she loves.

Thus Maria has no power at all to control her own destiny, to "judge," to assume a role; consequently, she has no identity. The "real" Maria has been captured on spools of Carter's film, owned by BZ, who can (and does) look at it any time he wants a sexual thrill. Near the end of the story, she leaves a party with an actor who doesn't know her. "She liked his not knowing her. She did not much like him, but she liked his not knowing her." (p. 152).

> When they finally did it they were on the bed and at the moment before he came he reached under the pillow and pulled out an amyl nitrate popper and broke it under his nose, breathed in rapidly, and closed his eyes.
> "Don't move," he said. *"I said don't move."*
> Maria did not move.
> "Terrific," he said then. His eyes were still closed.
> Maria said nothing.
> "Wake me up in three hours," he said. "With your tongue." (p. 153)

When he is asleep, she leaves in his car and drives to Tonopah, near the tiny town, now no longer existent, where she grew up. She has some vague idea of visiting her parents' graves. There she is arrested and jailed for stealing the car. Carter's agent bails her out, and makes the actor withdraw the charges.

> "Hey, babe," the actor said when he called. "You didn't have to call out the tactical nukes."
> "I don't know what you're talking about."
> "I'm talking about Freddy Chaikin, he shows up at ten o'clock in the morning and tries to lay it on me I'll never be in a package with any of his clients again. I mean I was *shooting*."
> "I was in *jail*."
> "Just hold on, cunt," the actor said, his voice rising, *"You never told me who you were."* (p. 157).

Anonymity, it seems, is a luxury that those who've never found an identity can ill afford.

In comparing Joan Didion's grim little tale with Jane Austen's novel, it may well seem that we are comparing hell to heaven. At the end of Miss Austen's Cinderella story, Fanny is honored, prosperous, and happy; all the images are of beauty, order, love, tranquility. Avrom Fleishman, with some others, believes it is not an altogether satisfactory paradise (p. 64). We have discovered that the estate is not self-sustaining, and the young people, by their marriages, have ensured that no new money will be coming in. Genetically, the resolution of the story is not that cooperation between independent aliens (as in *Emma* or *Pride and Prejudice*) which is the necessary condition of creation: the Bertrams and the Crawfords reject each other, and Fanny and Edmund marry in effect themselves; not only are they first cousins who have grown up in the same household, but they are as like as two peas, and both are like Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas calls Fanny daughter, Edmund calls her sister. Can the joining of self with self result in fecundity? Fanny in defining herself has defined Mansfield, and definition, as the word implies, entails mortality, or at least sterility. According to Fleishman, the denouement of the novel may be read as an affirmation of death.

But possibly this view is distorted by the attempt to impose a sociological paradigm on a romantic novel: romanticism is after all fantasied wish fulfillment, and if we may believe psychologists, incest is the most cherished unconscious wish of the human heart. Surely Jane Austen intended to make her heroine happy—more happy, perhaps, than any of her other

heroines. Fanny married the man she had always loved and became the mistress of her beloved Mansfield Park; it is hard to imagine her being at all concerned with whether or not the Mansfield Park way of life was a dying one. Fanny is the truest of Jane Austen's Cinderellas: by understanding her role, and playing it to perfection, she turns from the little waif to the Girl Who Has Everything.

Ms. Didion's Maria, at the end of the story, has long ago given up any hope of winning, and has at last made some attempt to choose a role. But her chances of being able or allowed to play it appear slim; and even if she should be able to execute her plans for the future—"(1) get Kate, (2) live with Kate, (3) do some canning" (p. 210)—these hardly constitute a viable role on the world stage. She is perhaps attempting, not so much to define herself, as to generate herself. Her uncertainty about her mere existence is reflected in her preoccupation with the mother-daughter relationship: her bitterest sense of inadequacy comes from having failed her mother, her bitterest pain is the loss of Kate, the abortion has completed the destruction of her sense of self. Moreover, her sense of identification with the not-quite-created (backward) Kate is stressed: if Kate cares nothing for her mother, Maria has neglected her mother; if Kate's father has committed her to an institution, Maria's father committed her to a soul-destroying occupation; if Kate is brain-damaged, Maria is ego-damaged.

Thus while Fanny's self-identification is with an English country estate before the industrial revolution, representing a way of life steeped in tradition, Maria's is with a retarded child, representing an aborted life. Furthermore, Didion's novel suggests a strong analogy between a retarded child and the film industry itself—amoral, irrational, responding only to appearance—and between the film industry and contemporary American culture, which, she seems to be saying, has failed to transmit a viable system of social roles based on the traditional values of civilization. One can't help wishing, with Wilfred Sheed, that Ms. Didion's book didn't seem so true to life.

THE INFLUENCE OF PARTY POLITICS UPON PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION GOVERNANCE AND POLICY IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1910-1947

by

William P. Jackameit
Office of Institutional Research

The structure of public higher education governance in West Virginia has undergone numerous changes over the years. At the turn of the century, six Boards of Regents governed the various state supported institutions of higher education. Each competed with the other for the favor of the legislature. In 1909, the state legislature at once consolidated and divided the government and management of public higher education in the state. The existing Board of Regents was abolished and the responsibility for educational policy determination was vested in a single Board of Regents. Coincidently, a State Board of Control was created and charged with the management of the business and financial affairs of all public institutions of higher education.[1] The Board of Regents was continued until 1919, at which time the State Board of Education assumed responsibility for the educational management of all institutions of higher education operated by the state. Although a separate Board of Governors was established for the West Virginia University in 1927, management of the business and financial affairs of all state institutions of higher education remained a primary responsibility of the Board of Control. As a consequence of its control over institutional budgeting and expenditures, the latter board tended to exercise a powerful influence in the determination of educational policy. Thus, in 1947, the legislature transferred control of the business and financial affairs of the state colleges and state university from the Board of Control to

[1]See William P. Jackameit, "The Influence of Party Politics Upon Public Higher Education Governance and Policy in West Virginia, 1863-1909," *Madison College Studies and Research,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (March 1975), pp. 91-109 for a discussion of the events which culminated in the reorganization of 1909.

the State Board of Education and the University Board of Governors, respectively. Finally, in 1969, a new Board of Regents was created as a consolidated governing board for both the state colleges and the state university.

The consolidation and reorganization of the governing structure of public higher education in West Virginia in 1909 was part of a general reorganization of state government rather than an action that affected higher education only. It was for reasons of economy and efficiency that the state university, the university preparatory branches, the normal schools, and the colored institutes were placed under the auspices of the Board of Control and a single Board of Regents. Addressing the legislature in January of 1911, Governor William E. Glasscock had particular praise for the Board of Control:

> This method of government of our State institutions is a radical change from the old regime and has resulted in more efficient and economical management. I can and do cheerfully testify to the industry and fidelity to duty of each member of this board. They have given to the State the very best services of which they were capable and it has been a real pleasure to me to co-operate with them in their splendid work. Their report is before you and gives you all the information obtainable . . . You will find a statement of the balances to the credit of each institution subject to their control and management. In speaking of these balances they say: "On account of these funds we are retaining $200,760.77, and returning to the State treasury of existing appropriations $252,772.27, and $52,761.85 in the hands of this Board received from other sources, making a total return to the treasury after paying and providing for all obligations of $305,534.22." This record speaks for itself and comment is unnecessary. [2]

In February of 1919, the legislature enacted a comprehensive school law which, among other things, abolished the State Board of Regents and transferred its powers to a reorganized seven member State Board of Education. Six of the members were to be appointed by the governor "from the two dominant political parties" with the proviso that "not fewer than three appointive members shall be actively engaged in school work, nor shall more than three appointive members be of the same political party." The chief executive officer of the board was to be the state superintendent of free schools, who was elected to that office by the voters of the state at the same time and for the

---

[2] W. Va., Governor, *State Papers and Public Addresses of William E. Glasscock,* 1909-13, Governor's Message, January 11, 1911.

same term as was the governor. In addition to assuming the general control and management of the public institutions of higher education, the State Board of Education was authorized to make rules and regulations for the classification and standardization of all schools in the state, elementary, secondary, vocational, and otherwise. An advisory council, to consist of three Negro citizens, was created for the purpose of assisting the Board of Education in formulating and carrying out policies with respect to the education of black youth. No provision was made to assure minority party representation on the Negro advisory council. Management of the business and financial affairs of the state university, the state schools at Montgomery and Keyser, the six state normal schools, and the two colored institutes, as determined by the act of 1909, remained with the State Board of Control.[3] A continuity of administrative policy was afforded in that the four appointed incumbents on the Board of Regents were appointed to the State Board of Education.

During the mid-1920s, the State Board of Education "gave much attention to the athletic affairs of the West Virginia University in an attempt to place such activities of the University on the best possible basis without in any way hampering proper freedom and initiative in this important field."[4] In February of 1926, the Board of Education upon the recommendation of West Virginia University President Frank B. Trotter voted unanimously to authorize and direct that Trotter take whatever steps were necessary to make the school a member of the West Virginia Athletic Conference.[5] Almost immediately, students and alumni voiced loud objections to the order. State Superintendent of Free Schools Geo. M. Ford, as President of the Board of Education, remained firm that the university join the conference, but the board directed that a university council composed of Trotter and his deans review and consider "matters pertaining to the relationship of the University to other institutions of the state in athletic affairs," and that they recommend "the proper policy for the future promotion of the best type of athletics in our University and throughout the state." Apparently influenced by fans and

---

[3] W. Va., *Acts of the Legislature,* 1919, pp. 41-51.

[4] W. Va., *Report of the State Board of Education,* 1927-28, p. 24.

[5] W. Va., State Board of Education, *Minutes,* February 3, 1926.

alumni who feared the Mountaineer football and basketball teams might be relegated to playing lesser competitors, the university council recommended that the school not join the West Virginia Athletic Conference. President Trotter, having been placed in an awkward position, offered his resignation to the Board of Education. The board, much to its dismay, was unable to secure a new president. Although several persons were offered the position, not a single one was willing to accept.[6]

Superintendent Ford's continuing insistence that the university join the West Virginia Athletic Conference did not endear him or the Board of Education to a number of university supporters, some of whom sat in the state legislature. Thus, in April of 1927, the legislature established a separate Board of Governors for the university. This action effectively removed the Board of Education from any consideration of university athletic policies. Effective July 1, 1927, the powers and duties of the Board of Education with respect to the university were transferred to a bipartisan board of seven members, to be appointed by the governor, one from the state at large and one from each of the six congressional districts. A board president was to be selected by majority vote of the membership. Subsequently, in 1935, the Potomac State School at Keyser was designated as a junior college branch of the university and transferred from the auspices of the State Board of Education to the University Board of Governors. Business and financial matters pertaining to all state institutions of higher education, however, remained under the authority of the State Board of Control.[7] Thus, a situation was created in which three boards shared in the responsibility for the operation of public higher education in the state. In December of 1927, the Board of Governors appointed John Roscoe Turner to the presidency of the university at a salary of $15,000, thereby filling the vacancy which had been created eighteen months earlier.[8]

According to the 1928 *Survey of Education in West Virginia*, "the creation of the Board of Governors for the State University undoubtedly resulted from a desire on the part of those who were vitally interested in the university to secure for that

---

[6] W. Va., *Report of the State Board of Education,* 1927-28, pp. 25-26.

[7] W. Va., *Acts of the Legislature,* 1927, pp. 16-18, *Ibid,* 1935, pp. 203-04.

[8] W. Va., University Board of Governors, *Minutes,* December 3, 1927.

institution the vigorous and undivided support of a number of leading citizens" but "an important consideration in precipitating the removal of the educational control of the university from the State Board of Education was the disagreement between the state superintendent and certain of the supporters of the university."[9] The study group criticized the divided administrative structure, particularly the increasing power being exercised by the Board of Control with regard to educational policy formulation:

> While disintegrating influences have operated to divide educational control, there has been a steady consolidation of financial control and a growing tendency for the control exercised by the financial board, the Board of Control, to reach into all aspects of the life of the educational institutions. While the Board of Control consults individually with the executives of the various institutions, it is the medium of communication with the Board of Public Works and with the Legislature on budgetary matters and in the last analysis is, so far as the institutions are concerned, largely the determining power in formulating the budgets. It is a fiction to say that the educational policy of an institution is unaffected by the budget. The fact is that the board which determines the budget will always have a highly effective control over institutional policies . . . The Board of Control is more than a mere financial agent of the state. It is in the opinion of the staff by far the most influential factor in controlling the development of the higher institutions of the state.[10]

It was therefore recommended that a new central board be created to absorb the policy functions of the State Board of Education and the University Board of Governors, and the budget formulating functions of the Board of Control. The new board was to consist of "representative citizens" appointed for long terms. Furthermore, the board would be empowered to appoint the state superintendent of schools as well as the executive officers of all public institutions of higher education.[11]

Nothing was done at this time, but, in August of 1932, the legislature, meeting in extraordinary session, voted to abolish the State Board of Education and to transfer its duties to the Board of Public Works. This legislation, the primary purpose of which was to effect "a reduction in the salary of each and every holder of a public office" in light of the financial distress of the

---

[9] W. Va., State Department of Education, *Survey of Education in West Virginia,* Vol. IV: *Institutions of Higher Education* (Charleston, 1928), p. 3.

[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 2-4.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 117.

time, also directed that the Negro advisory council to the State Board of Education be abolished.[12] The members of the advisory council brought suit in the Supreme Court of West Virginia, contending that the latter provision was in violation of the state constitution because the abolition of public offices was in no way covered by the title to the act. Finding for the plaintiffs, the court held that the object of the legislation, as stated in the title, could only be the reduction of salaries, and "the reduction of salaries, or even the abolishment of salaries does not mean the abolishment of an office, for the salary of an office is only one of its perquisites."[13] Although the decision made no specific mention of other offices abolished by the salary act, legal authorities quickly advanced the opinion that the reason given by the court for invalidating the abolition of the advisory council also applied to other offices abolished in the same act, including the State Board of Education itself.[14] Thus, the State Board of Education was continued, and in June of 1933, a Negro Board of Education was established to replace the advisory council. This board consisted of the state superintendent of free schools, the state supervisor of Negro schools, and "two members of the negro race" to be appointed by the governor and to receive "the same salary as paid each appointive member of the State Board of Education." The two boards were to sit as a single body for the purpose of managing the educational affairs of the West Virginia State College and Bluefield State Teachers College and, as such, were referred to as the Joint Boards of Education.[15]

With the exception of brief intervals, West Virginia state government was controlled by the Republicans from 1897 to 1933. The election of 1932, however, swept the Democrats into power in the State much as it did nation-wide.[16] Upon his inauguration in March of 1933, newly elected Democratic Governor Herman Guy Kump clearly indicated that a change of personnel in public service was in order:

---

[12] W. Va., *Acts of the Legislature,* Extraordinary Session, 1932, pp. 42-50.

[13] Moats v. Cook, 113 W. Va. 151 (1932).

[14] *Charleston Gazette,* December 7, 1932.

[15] W. Va., *Acts of the Legislature,* 1933, pp. 103-05.

[16] Charles H. Ambler and Festus P. Summers, *West Virginia: The Mountain State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1958), pp. 261-67.

> For many men and women who have long held public positions this has become a tragic hour. Thousands of letters in my files testify to the hardships that party victories create, but it is my duty to stand firmly by the promises on which I was elected and which have their foundation in right and justice. It is the plain mandate of the people that there should be a complete change of personnel in the public service of this State, and in accordance with that mandate I feel it is my duty to request the resignation of all officers and employees whose tenure is subject to executive action. They will be dealt with in compliance with our campaign pledges and in full keeping with the spirit and the letter of our promises. [17]

In that the presidents of the state colleges were elected by the State Board of Education, their tenure was not subject to executive action. However, the State Board of Education, save for the state superintendent of free schools, was subject to executive appointment. In June of 1933, Kump addressed the board as follows:

> It is not my purpose unduly to intrude my views into the deliberations and actions of this board, except to aid and assist you so far as I am able to do and to accentuate certain matters that seem to me to be of the highest importance to the people of our State — so much so that they have become the fixed policy of this administration.
>
> Probably first among these matters is that politics must be taken out of our State-supported educational institutions, and kept out. There is no place for the politician in the schools maintained by the State. This board is requested and expected to see to it that this policy is promptly and effectually pursued in the institutions under your control. [18]

Although the governor failed to name those politicians for which there was to be no place, Marshall College President Morris P. Shawkey was perhaps the most obvious example. A well-known Republican and former state superintendent of free schools, Shawkey had served as chief executive of the Huntington institution since 1923. Shawkey, more than any other individual, effectively pursued the interests of Marshall College. "In so doing he did not hesitate to resort to political influences and regional interests" and, according to Ambler, "he was thus a marked man." [19] Indeed, Shawkey's methods and

---

[17] W. Va., Governor, *State Papers and Public Addresses of Herman Guy Kump,* 1933-37, *Inaugural Address,* March 4, 1933.

[18] Kump, *Statement Before Meeting of the State Board of Education,* June 21, 1933.

[19] Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Education in West Virginia* (Huntington: Standard Printing and Publishing Company, 1951), p. 776. Ambler was a professor at the West Virginia University during Shawkey's tenure at Marshall College.

expansionist program for Marshall were criticized by the college faculty:

> There was much criticism of a tendency to make limited funds go too far, spreading available money over too much territory. Faculty salaries were never properly supported, with proper gradations according to rank; salaries were what they could be or had to be. Some who got increases not justified by rank and qualifications so much as personal aggressiveness were pleased; others felt that wrong bases were taken into consideration in alterations of salary. President Shawkey was manifestly in opposition to any kind of salary scale which would take salary adjustments out of his hands.
>
> That situation cannot be divorced from the feeling among the faculty that he was not primarily interested in making this a scholarly institution; he wished it to grow and be popular in the state, regarding such factors as indications of the service of the institution. Too little money was spent on library books after a fine library building had been provided through his own efforts. President Shawkey did not impress his faculty as himself a scholar or as one who appreciated scholarliness in others in the judgment of many. That element of a college was to be achieved incidentally to the major struggle for expansion. It apparently could not be so achieved.[20]

Nevertheless, opposition from the Marshall faculty was not the determining factor in Shawkey's ouster, although a lack of support from elements of the faculty certainly did little to enhance his position. Rather, "the political axe had to fall and Shawkey was to be the first victim."[21] By April of 1935, Shawkey had become the center of a well-defined movement to revamp his administrative setup and retire him. In an interview at Charleston, State Superintendent of Free Schools W. W. Trent referred to reports that Shawkey was to be ousted and recited the names of a number of prominent state educators who had figured in the discussion of a successor. Shawkey, who was 67, asserted that any proposal to remove him from the presidency of Marshall College was decidedly not based upon any charges relative to his administration of the school's affairs, and he declared "I am too young to step down and leave an unfinished work."[22] Reaction to reports of Shawkey's pending

---

[20]Marshall Lee Buckalew, "The Life of Dr. Morris Purdy Shawkey" (unpublished M.A. thesis, West Virginia University, 1941), pp. 140-141. Buckalew attributes this statement to one of Shawkey's "most loyal supporters and co-workers" the identity of whom could not be revealed.

[21]*Ibid.*, p. 142.

[22]*Huntington Herald-Dispatch,* April 24, 1935.

forced retirement was immediate insofar as the Marshall student body was concerned; student leaders quickly formed a protest committee and plans were made for a strike "as a reminder to the State Board of Education that we oppose the removal of Dr. Shawkey."[23]

The organizational meeting of the student protest committee was attended by the leaders of twenty-two campus activities, all of whom pledged support for the former state superintendent. In addition to the protest strike, the committee announced that they would take a petition directly to Governor Kump asking that he use his influence to prevent any move to remove or retire the incumbent president. The governor, to be sure, was not to be swayed by the protestations of Shawkey or the Marshall student body, and he immediately issued a statement to that effect:

> The information I have impels me to be in accord with what I understand to be the purpose of the State Board of Education to root politics out of state-supported institutions of higher education.
>
> It may be well understood now that inspired movements, through students, or otherwise, designed to unduly influence public officials in the discharge of duty are not convincing.
>
> Neither will charges of political activity made by those whose public records are steeped in politics influence public officials in the discharge of duty.[24]

Shawkey appealed to the students to cancel the protest strike, and his request was honored. The following day, a delegation of four students journeyed to Charleston and attempted to see the governor, whereupon they were informed that he was out of town. However, the students were permitted to lay a protest against Shawkey's removal before the Board of Education.

President Shawkey also attended the board meeting, but, following an executive session at which he was present for more than an hour, Shawkey told the press that the board members made no mention of any contemplated changes in the presidency or other personnel at Marshall College.[25] Nevertheless, the intent of the Board of Education and of Governor Kump was clear; the next day, less than a week after declaring he was

---

[23] *Ibid.*, April 25, 1935.

[24] *Ibid.*, April 26, 1935.

[25] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1935.

too young to step down and leave an unfinished work, Shawkey submitted his resignation to the board citing as his reason ill health. This was promptly accepted. Superintendent Trent and other members of the board announced Shawkey's action but refused to discuss reports that the Huntington educator had been forced to resign. Shawkey also declined to comment upon the affair except to state "this thing has just happened and I don't feel that I should discuss it publicly until I have given the matter the gravest consideration."[26] President Shawkey remained at the college until July and, shortly thereafter, became the head of the Charleston Educational Center. A "Democrat and personal friend of Governor Kump," President James E. Allen of Davis and Elkins College, was appointed to succeed Shawkey.[27]

Enrollment growth at the West Virginia University peaked during the 1940-41 school year and declined rapidly thereafter as potential students were taken into military service. To be sure, the university was involved in the usual wartime activities, including the Army Specialized Training Program and the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training Program, but the number of civilian students at the university was reduced by much larger percentages than at either Marshall College or West Virginia State College, which were located in population centers. Democratic Governor Matthew M. Neely was aware of lagging enrollment at the university. Citing this and other alleged problems, Neely in June of 1944 effected changes in the University Board of Governors and attempted to force the resignation of President Charles E. Lawall. In an editorial entitled "A Foul Blow," the *Morgantown Post* responded immediately to the governor's actions:

> "There is a certain satisfaction," Emerson once said, "in coming down to the lowest ground of politics, for we get rid of cant and hypocrisy."
>
> Unfortunately we are unable to salvage even that minor satisfaction from the descent to the lowest ground of politics which has been made in West Virginia in recent days as the State has been subjected to the sickening spectacle of seeing the University Board of Governors ruthlessly packed to meet the requirements of a seething, introspective fury.
>
> Cant and hypocrisy drip from every syllable that has been uttered in defense of this indefensible intrusion of political manipulation into the affairs of the State's principal institution of higher education.

---

[26] *Huntington Herald-Advertiser,* April 28, 1935.

[27] Ambler, *op. cit.,* p. 776.

> If the "reasons" offered as justification for the packing of the Board of Governors, a process which has necessitated the "doubling up" of certain political favorites, have been advanced in good faith, they surely constitute the most trivial and inconsequential bill of particulars ever presented in a case of equal importance.[28]

The attempt to oust Lawall was complicated by the fact that in May of 1944, just prior to the appointment of five new members to the Board of Governors, the board as then constituted had reappointed him to a term of one year, to begin in July.[29] Nevertheless, the new board voted four to three to request the resignation of President Lawall and, at the urging of the governor, to offer him the alternative of the directorship of the school of mines or a professorship in engineering.[30] Lawall was quick to reply to the board's request:

> As President of the highest educational institution in the State, I feel it my solemn duty to look only to its best interest and that of the State, irrespective of my personal fortune. Being charged with the University's welfare, I cannot temporize or be a party to what is considered at the very least a premature course of action which, of necessity, results from inadequate understanding of all the facts . . . At this time, therefore, I am not in a position to submit my resignation as President of West Virginia University or accept either of the alternative offers.[31]

Having received Lawall's answer, the board promptly passed an order "that the employment of Charles E. Lawall as President of the University be hereby terminated, effective at the close of business on August 31, 1944" with the proviso he be given until that date to accept one of the two positions.[32]

It soon became apparent that the board's action was not to remain unchallenged. Although the scores of students who had cut classes in protest against any change in the administration quickly returned to their studies, the student body served almost immediate notice that it would continue the fight to retain Lawall and, more significantly, reports of alumni activity favorable to the president were heard from several sections of

---

[28] *Morgantown Post,* June 19, 1944.

[29] W. Va., University Board of Governors, *Minutes,* May 27.

[30] *Ibid.,* June 19, 1944.

[31] Letter, President Charles E. Lawall to University Board of Governors, June 19, 1944.

[32] W. Va., University Board of Governors, *Minutes,* June 20, 1944.

the state.[33] In support of his position that Lawall be removed from the university presidency, Governor Neely in July of 1944 broadcast an address over state-wide radio:

> To my regret, my anti-reform enemies have chosen to make a person instead of a principle the storm center of their latest war against me. The person is Doctor Charles Lawall who, in my opinion, is a Christian gentleman of spotless character, pleasing personality, and ample qualifications to discharge the duties of Director of the University's School of Mines. The Board offers to appoint the Doctor to this place. An unkind thought about Doctor Lawall I have never spoken. As a man and a teacher he has my friendship and esteem.
>
> What has happened at the University since Doctor Lawall became its acting president in 1938 and its president in 1939? The answer to this question will enable you to judge justly the propriety of what has recently been done in behalf of University reform.
>
> During the 1938 fall semester the University had an enrollment of 3,103 students. After more than five years and a half of Dr. Lawall's presidency, in May 1944, the University had an enrollment of 1,607 — a loss of 48.2 percent. If this fact stood alone, you might attribute the greater part of the loss to the war. But the war has not diminished enrollment at Morgantown more than it has diminished it at Huntington or Charleston.
>
> West Virginia has produced some of the most brilliant football players and distinguished all-round athletes in the country. Forty-nine of these are well-known. They all have, for unpublished reasons, contributed their fame-winning skill, strategy, and strength to foreign universities and colleges, while competent coaches have vainly struggled at Morgantown for famous football victories . . . Ladies and gentlemen, it is my desire that the University be improved until it can draw to Morgantown at least a majority of these priceless persons so that they may help make our football team as famous as our basketball team was two years ago.[34]

The governor also criticized the university for having made no sensational scientific invention to compare with the synthetic production of quinine at Harvard or the preservation of eggs at the University of Missouri and in closing noted his "sincere desire to rid education of politics" and declared "it has been maliciously and mendaciously charged that my undertaking to improve the University was designed to prosper my political party or gratify my political ambitions."[35]

---

[33] *Morgantown Post,* June 20, 1944.

[34] W. Va., Governor, *State Papers and Public Addresses of Matthew M. Neely,* 1941-45, *Radio Address,* July 6, 1944.

[35] *Ibid.*

Not surprisingly, the *Morgantown Post,* which Democrat Neely observed was owned by an "Old Guard" Republican whom he had not reappointed to membership on the university's governing board, reported that the governor in his broadcast "had little or nothing to say in explanation or defense of the practices and methods he had adopted, to the shocked surprise of the people" and that he was guilty of "slandering the University beyond all reason and disrupting the orderly administration of its affairs."[36] Neely was also chastised by West Virginia University alumnus C. E. Hodges, who broadcast a reply to the governor's address charging him with "a ruthless disregard and prostitution of the established and accepted practices of academic administration observed in all reputable institutions of higher learning."[37] For his part, President Lawall brought suit in Kanawha Circuit Court to invalidate the ouster action, meantime remaining in office by court injunction. Thus, when Neely left office in January of 1945, Lawall was still in Morgantown serving as before, albeit his relationship with the governing board was somewhat less than cordial. Thus it was the new governor, Clarence W. Meadow, who laid the groundwork for resolution of the impasse through the appointment of a new Board of Governors which, at its first meeting in April 1945, simply rescinded the June 1944 order terminating Lawall as university president.[38]

The practical effect of the board's action was to render moot those questions raised in the legal proceedings then pending in the Kanawha County Circuit Court, and to restore Lawall to the status he would have held had the ouster order never been entered. There was, however, to be an anticlimax. In August of 1945, just four months following the rescinding order, Lawall submitted his resignation:

> For sometime I have been seriously considering returning to my professional interests in the field of mining engineering. An interesting offer from the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company to become engineer of its coal properties has provided for me the solution of this matter. I have decided to accept this position and, therefore, offer you my resignation as President of West Virginia University.

---

[36] *Morgantown Post,* July 7, 1944.

[37] C. E. Hodges, "Reply to Governor Neely on Behalf of the Executive Council of the West Virginia University Alumni Association," July 1944. Both Neely's and Hodges' broadcasts were circulated in pamphlet form.

[38] W. Va., University Board of Governors, *Minutes,* April 5, 1945.

> It is with a great deal of reluctance that I sever my connection with the University which I have served for nearly a quarter of a century. During this period I have seen the University develop into a splendid institution of high standing among the institutions of this country . . . The termination of my official status with West Virginia University will in no way affect the sincere interest that I shall always have in it.[39]

The political maneuverings and manipulations during the later Lawall years did not escape the eye of a group under the direction of George D. Strayer which was formed during the summer of 1945 for the purpose of studying the state's system of public higher education:

> The University is the only institution of the State that suffers from a distinctly unfavorable national reputation. This is common knowledge. Derogatory judgments are often expressed when the name of the institution is mentioned among informed higher educational people outside the State. The cause is always ascribed by out-of-state educators to a long history of state political manipulation rather than to the University itself. It is believed that progressive deterioration has developed in the University by reason of rivalries and interferences of partisan politics. The University's out-of-state reputation is not so much a condemnation of the University, as regret that it has been subjected to undesirable state governmental and political party practices which have made it impossible for it to take its rightful place in the state and among the land-grant state universities.[40]

The divided control of public higher education between the State Board of Education, the Negro and Joint Boards of Education, the University Board of Governors, and the Board of Control endured both the depression and the war. It did not, however, continue uncriticized. In 1940, the State Board of Education suggested that an increased efficiency and greater cohesion would be obtained by a centralization of control:

> It would seem that our educational efforts would be more efficient if there were more centralized control. Many boards, such as now control higher education in West Virginia, make for lost motion and fail to give a needed coherence to the state's total educational program. This general observation is made in spite of the goodwill, personal efficiency, working adjustability, interest, fairness and unquestioned ability of the personnel of the current governing boards. Any one and all of the present members

---

[39] Letter, President Charles E. Lawall to University Board of Governors, August 22, 1945.

[40] W. Va., State Department of Education, *Survey of Public Education in the State of West Virginia,* (Charleston, 1945), p. 711.

> of boards which direct education in West Virginia would be qualified for membership on a single board which might be charged with the responsibility of directing all higher education in the state. The type of control now suggested would in no sense curtail the progressive democratic effectiveness which characterizes the present administration of higher education.[41]

Although the State Board of Education advocated placing all of the institutions of higher learning, including the university, under the auspices of the State Board of Education, the Strayer group contended that, despite past excesses, the state university should have a separate governing board:

> While there is a certain appealing logic of State administration in the argument for the creation of a central administrative board for the general control of all matters relating to public education — elementary, secondary, and higher, it is the present contention that the University is not just another State institution. It is fundamentally different and must always be different if it is to serve its full purposes. The best interests of the University will, it is believed, be conserved by the continuance of a separate board of Governors.[42]

The Strayer Group recommended that the Potomac State School remain under the control of the University Board of Governors, and that the State Board of Education retain control over the public schools and the state colleges. In that "a board cannot exercise the responsibilities of securing efficiency and co-ordination unless it has the power to prepare the budget for submission to appropriating authority and, in addition, has control over expenditures when the budget has been approved by proper legislative authority," it was proposed that the Board of Education and the University Board of Governors be vested with the authority to prepare institutional budgets and to exercise budget control after appropriations were made "subject only to such audit by the State as will insure adequate accounting for funds." The intent of this proposal was clearly the removal of the State Board of Control from any and all influence in the conduct of public higher education in the state. Noting that "during the past five years twenty-three individuals have had a place on this Board" the Strayer Group suggested that the membership of the University Board of Governors be increased from seven to nine, that their terms of office be

---

[41] W. Va., *Biennial Report of the State Board of Education,* 1940, p. 45.

[42] W. Va. State Department of Education, *Survey of Public Education in the State of West Virginia* (Charleston, 1945), p. 650.

extended from six years to nine, and that board members be subject to removal for cause to be accomplished only through impeachment proceedings. Basically the same recommendations were made with regard to the State Board of Education.[43]

The voters of West Virginia in 1946 narrowly rejected a proposed constitutional amendment which, in implementing the suggested reforms, would have given both the State Board of Education and the University Board of Governors constitutional status.[44] This having failed, the state legislature in February of 1947 enacted legislation which substantially placed into effect the aforementioned recommendations. Coincidently, the Negro Board of Education was abolished with the provision that one of the nine members of the reorganized State Board of Education be a black. Control of the business and financial affairs of the state colleges was transferred from the State Board of Control to the State Board of Education. Similarly, management of the business and financial affairs of the West Virginia University and the Potomac State School was transferred from the Board of Control to the University Board of Governors. As the Board of Education was vested with the title to all property of the institutions under its control, so the Board of Governors was vested with the title to all university property. The University Board of Governors was increased to a membership of nine citizens of the state, no more than five of whom might be members of the same political party. Thus the principle of mandatory bipartisanship was continued on the Board of Governors, as it was with respect to the Board of Education. The term of office for members of both boards was set at overlapping periods of nine years, with the provision that "no member may be removed from office by the governor except for official misconduct, incompetence, neglect of duty, or gross immorality, and then only in the manner prescribed by law for the removal by the governor of state elective officers."[45] The structure of public higher education governance thus established was to endure for twenty-two years, until the creation of a single Board of Regents as the governing body for all public institutions of higher education in 1969.

---

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 662-67.

[44] *West Virginia Blue Book,* Vol. 31 (Charleston, West Virginia: Jarrett Printing Company, 1947), p. 327. The proposed amendment failed by 6,647 votes in a total of 352,657 votes cast.

[45] W. Va., *Acts of the Legislature,* 1947, pp. 278-83; pp. 318-320.

REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP HOSTILITY IN THE CLASSROOM

by

Virginia A. Andreoli
Department of Psychology

The causes of and means for reducing intergroup hostility have been longstanding concerns of psychologists, sociologists and educators, alike. However, the bulk of the research in this area has focused on the causes of intergroup hostility rather than its reduction. Research has demonstrated that a great deal of intergroup hostility is generated by the negative stereotypes handed down by parents concerning groups with a different heritage. [1] A second major cause of intergroup hostility is competition. Sherif and his colleagues [2] had two groups of 11- and 12-year-old boys participate in a series of competitive games during a session of summer camp. These encounters resulted in a high degree of intergroup aggression. Similar findings of intergroup aggression following competition were obtained by Rabbie & Horwitz[3] and Worchel, Andreoli & Folger[4] using laboratory groups.

Although the causes and pervasiveness of intergroup aggression have been well documented, there have been relatively few investigations into the means by which it can be reduced. While behavior modification techniques have had limited success in reducing interpersonal aggression (Hamblin,

---

[1] Levine, R. A. "Socialization, Social Structure and Intersocietal Images." In H. O. Kelman (ed.) *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965, 43-69; Bandura, A. *Social Learning Theory.* Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1971.

[2] Sherif, M., Harvey, O.J., White, B.J., Hood, W.R. and Sherif, C. *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robber's Cave Experiment.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

[3] Rabbie, J. M. and Horwitz, M. "Arousal of Ingroup-Outgroup Bias by a Chance Win or Loss." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 1969, *13,* 269-277.

[4] Worchel, S., Andreoli, V. A. and Folger, R. "The Effect of Types of Previous Interaction and Success of Combined Effort on Intergroup Hostility." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* in press.

Buckholt, Bushell, Ellis & Ferretor,[5] it has not been tested or evaluated in the context of intergroup aggression. Lessing & Clarke[6] demonstrated that simply presenting favorable information about the outgroup is not effective in reducing intergroup aggression. Yarrow, Campbell & Yarrow[7] concluded that the presence of a nonaggressive model could reduce interracial aggression to some extent but constant monitoring and reinforcement for modeling were required to achieve and maintain this.

The most successful means to reduce intergroup hostility appears to be the use of a superordinate goal. A superordinate goal is defined as a goal which both groups desire but one which cannot be achieved by a single group through its own efforts.[8] When the previously competitive groups in the Sherif *et al.* study were enticed to work together toward a superordinate goal, the intergroup hostility was reduced. More recent research by Worchel, Andreoli & Folger revealed that the groups must be successful in achieving the goal in order to reduce the hostility.

The present study investigated the applicability of the superordinate goal technique in reducing intergroup hostility in the classroom setting. If teachers could employ a means of restructuring the class so as to reduce the conflict between groups, it would allow them to focus on their primary function of teaching.

It was predicted that following competition in the classroom, there would be an increase in attraction toward the ingroup but a decrease in attraction toward the outgroup. However, participating in a superordinate goal task would reduce intergroup hostility and generate an increase in the attractiveness of the outgroup.

---

[5] Hamblin, R. L., Buckholdt, D., Bushell, D., Ellis, D., and Ferritor, D. "Changing the Game from 'Get the Teacher' to 'Learn'." *Trans-action,* 1969, *6,* 20-25.

[6] Lessing, E. E., and Clarke, C. "Attempted Reduction of Ethnic Prejudice Among Junior High School Students." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association meetings in Chicago, Sept. 1975.

[7] Yarrow, M. R., Campbell, J. D. and Yarrow, L. J. "Interpersonal Dynamics in Racial Integration." In E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology.* 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958.

[8] Sherif, M. and Sherif, C. *Social Psychology* 3rd ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

In this three-week project, students in grades 2, 3, 4 and 5 at Anthony Seeger Campus School were randomly divided into 5 or 6 person groups, with four groups in each class. The groups were labelled A, B, C and D. Prior to the project, students completed a short questionnaire, indicating the degree of attraction they felt toward each of their fellow classmates. During the first week of the project, each group worked on a series of tasks designed to generate intragroup cooperation. These tasks included both academic and play activities. Each group was always informed that they were successful in completing their task and everyone in the group was given a small prize after each task. The second week involved competition on a series of both academic assignments and play activities. In each class, group A always competed against group B and group C always competed against group D. Prizes were awarded to the winner of each task. In the third week, group A and B worked together to achieve a superordinate goal and groups C and D worked together. The superordinate goals involved gathering information for a project about a foreign country and planning a party. During the project, attraction measures were taken at the end of each week. A final measure was also taken four weeks after the completion of this project. For each group in the study, three scores were calculated for each of the five measurement periods: an attraction score for the ingroup, an attraction score for the outgroup (the group with whom they competed) and an attraction score for the neutral group (the members of the class with whom they did not interact).

The results of the trend analysis on these scores indicated that the hypotheses were partially confirmed. The hypothesis that the attractiveness of the ingroup would increase over the five measurement periods was not confirmed ($F(1, 12) = 3.77$, $p < .08$). While there was a small increase over the first three measures, the attraction levelled off for the last two. Contrary to expectations, the decrease in the attractiveness of the outgroup following competition which did occur was not significant. However, the significant linear trend revealed that, as predicted, the outgroup did increase in attractiveness following the superordinate goal activity ($F(1, 12) = 5.67$, $p < .05$). A comparison between the quadratic trends for the ingroup and outgroup scores revealed that the trends for the ingroup and outgroup attraction scores were significantly different from one another ($F(1, 12)$ 8.82, $p < .05$).

The research described in this project indicates, first, that competition has the potential for generating intergroup hostility and second, that a superordinate goal can be used effectively to reduce intergroup hostility in the classroom. While the attraction scores for the outgroup did not decrease significantly, the teachers and assistants reported an increase in aggressive behavior during the week of competition. Since the groups were randomly assigned, it is possible that the students were competing against some of their best friends. In this event, perhaps a longer period of competition would have overridden the previous friendship to produce a significant decrease in attraction, toward the outgroup. If the teacher is confronted with hostile groups in the class, both academic and non-academic tasks could be utilized as superordinate goals. The critical requirements that must be met by these tasks are 1) the two groups must both want to achieve the goal, 2) the groups need one another's help to achieve the goal and 3) the groups succeed in achieving the goal. If these criteria are met, the superordinate goal technique can be effective in reducing classroom hostility.

This work was supported by a grant from the Madison College Program of Grants for Faculty Research.

MULTIMEDIA GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY

by

James Butler
Department of Psychology

The purpose of this project was to develop a multimedia format for the presentation of General Psychology to large classes. It was felt that such an approach would provide an enriched and more uniform experience for the introductory student, with obvious economy for the college. In addition, experiences gained from the project might be useful to other departments struggling with the problems of large-scale multiple section courses.

A review of the recent literature on teaching innovations pointed up several attempts by colleges around the nation to develop multimedia courses. Curtis, for example, at the University of Delaware, has utilized student created multimedia presentations as a part of his course on American History.[1] This approach has also been employed by Hine of UC-Riverside.[2] Maas, at Cornell University, has presented General Pyschology to classes in excess of one thousand students, by relying heavily on media materials.[3]

Data on the learning outcome of students in these media oriented classes, as compared to standard lecture classes, has not been reported. Student acceptance and enthusiasm, however, has been consistently noted.

With the present project, the central task has been the adaptation of the traditional course content in General Psychology (231-232) to a structure and format suitable for mixed-media presentation. The intention has been to select the major concepts and elements of the course, and to present them to the students in the clearest and most dramatic fashion possible.

---

[1] Curtis, James C. "Teaching with Audiovisuals." *The History Teacher,* February, 1973.

[2] Trombley, William. "The Human Dimension of History." *Change,* Burlington, Vermont: Lane Press, 2, 8, 1976.

[3] Maas, James. *Teaching Innovations in Psychology,* Washington: American Psychological Association Press, 1975.

To facilitate this the content of the course has been divided into sixty discrete instructional units, coinciding with the number of classes in a two semester school year. Detailed plans for each class have been developed, along with the selection of the optimal media for instructional delivery. It was decided that, as a central core, most classes would be structured around a multiple-image slide-illustrated lecture. Using three large screens, and three remote controlled projectors, lectures could be delivered and illustrated with great flexibility. Supplementing this format, as needed, would be movie segments, spoken word recordings, demonstrations, theatrical dramatizations, and guest speakers. Entrance and exit music would be provided each class day.

To further benefit the students, a work-resource book has been prepared and reproduced containing outlines, instructional objectives, key terms, relevant quotes, illustrations, and suggested readings for each class. This was designed to serve as a guide to the student's class experiences, and an aid to his study. In addition, to compensate for the large class sizes (approximately 200), small weekly discussion groups have been scheduled, to allow for a greater degree of individualized attention and instruction.

Within the boundaries of academic rigor and respectibility, every effort has been made to develop a method of presenting the course content of General Psychology in a rich and exciting manner. The effectiveness of this approach will be assessed regularly through student evaluations, appraisals by media and instructional experts, and comparisons of learning outcome between multimedia classes and those taught with standard formats.

This work was supported by a grant from the Madison College Program of Grants for Faculty Research.

GAS CHROMATOGRAPHIC SEPARATION AND ANALYSIS OF ZIRCONIUM AND HAFNIUM

by

James J. Leary
Department of Chemistry

INTRODUCTION

The separation and simultaneous analysis of zirconium and hafnium is of interest to a broad cross section of scientists including: chemists, geologists and nuclear physicists. A gas chromatographic method of analysis based on the use of volatile chelates would be of great practical value, because if separation can be achieved, detection down to the picogram level will also be obtained. Significant progress toward a gas chromatographic separation has been made during this work. Volatile zirconium and hafnium chelates have successfully been chromatographed on a variety of columns.

EXPERIMENTAL AND INSTRUMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

The gas chromatographs used in this work were: (1) a Perkin-Elmer Model 3920 equipped with flame ionization detectors; (2) a Gow-Mac Model 550 equipped with thermal conductivity detectors. A precision injection point marker was constructed and attached to the recorder used in this study. Also, the calibration of a Fenwal Electronics Iso Curve thermistor was checked using a water-ice bath and this was then used with a digital multimeter to accurately monitor column temperature.

Throughout the summer the reactivity of the internal components of the Perkin-Elmer chromatograph hindered progress. Preliminary work using 2-aminoethanol, the compound usually used to check for reactive sites within the instrument, indicated that the system was very unreactive. Initially however, none of the zirconium or hafnium compounds proposed for study could be eluted from the chromatograph. This was particularly surprising because under similar experimental conditions two other β-diketonates were successfully chromatographed [$Fe(fod)_3$ and $Al(fod)_3$]. Retention times for the latter com-

pounds agreed well with literature values. In light of the results with 2-aminoethanol, $Fe(fod)_3$ and $Al(fod)_3$ the extreme reactivity of the zirconium and hafnium with the chromatograph was entirely unexpected. A partial remedy was a Hamilton syringe equipped with a seven centimeter needle, which allows bypassing the metal components in the injection port and direct injection onto the column. Finally, a glass lined column to detector conversion kit was borrowed from the Perkin-Elmer Corporation. At this point reactivity had been reduced to where chromatograms could be obtained on either instrument.

While the Perkin-Elmer instrument was being modified the Gow-Mac instrument was used. The construction of this instrument allows direct on-column injection and direct connection of columns to detector; however, the thermal conductivity detector greatly reduces the value of this instrument when working with high molecular weight compounds. An important experiment performed on the Gow-Mac instrument consisted of trapping the effluent from under a peak suspected of being $Zr(fod)_4$. The effluent was trapped in a capillary tube, and was treated with alizarin sulfonate and concentrated hydrochloric acid. The resulting mixture was heated to boiling, at which time intense red spots appeared indicating that a zirconium compound had been successfully eluted.

Attempts were made to snythesize and chromatograph the zirconium and hafnium compounds of the four ligands H(tfa), H(fod), H(thd), H(bta). Of the latter compounds only $Zr(fod)_4$ and $Hf(fod)_4$ could be successfully chromatographed. Table I summarizes the columns used to chromatograph $Zr(fod)_4$ and/or $Hf(fod)_4$ at 170°C.

Table I

1. 1/4″ by 1/2 meter glass; 5% OV-3*
2. 1/4″ by 1/2 meter teflon; 5% OV-101*
3. 1/8″ by 1/2 meter teflon lined aluminum; 5% OV-101*
4. 1/8″ by 1/2 meter glass; 10% OV-101*
5. 1/8″ by 1/2 meter teflon lined aluminum; 0.30% OV-101 on glass beads – DMCS (100/200 Mesh)
6. 1/8″ by 1/2 meter teflon lined aluminum; 10% OV-17*
7. 1/8″ by 2 meter teflon lined aluminum; 10% OV-101*

*Chromosorb W – AW – DMCS (100/120 Mesh)

SUMMARY

Volatile chelates of zirconium and hafnium have successfully been chromatographed. Experimental conditions are being optomized. Additional instrument modifications are underway to further decrease reactivity. Table I clearly indicates that pursuance of this research will soon lead to a successful zirconium, hafnium separation.

This work was supported by a grant from the Madison College Program of Grants for Faculty Research.

A CLASS OF UNIFORM BANDS

by

Janet E. Mills
Department of Mathematics

An orthodox semigroup is a regular semigroup in which the product of two idempotents is again an idempotent. That is, if $e^2 = e$ and $f^2 = f$ then $(ef)^2 = ef$. Thus, in an orthodox semigroup, the set of idempotents is itself a semigroup, called a band. Orthodox semigroups form a large class which includes all groups, inverse semigroups and many semigroups associated with automata and syntatic languages.

Every orthodox semigroup can be decomposed into a union of bisimple orthodox semigroups and each bisimple orthodox semigroup has a uniform band of idempotents. Since the band of idempotents forms the basic skeleton of the semigroup, it is necessary to understand uniform bands in order to gain knowledge of bisimple orthodox semigroups. In this paper a class of uniform bands is completely determined with multiplication explicitly described in terms of a group and a simple function.

The class of bands determined here arises from the notion of ω-chain. That is, an ω-chain is isomorphic to the positive integers under the order $1>2>3>4> \ldots$. These ω-chains occur within most bands and the structure of the class of orthodox semigroups having an ω-chain as its band of idempotents is well-known. Thus, bands derived from ω-chains occur naturally and a description of the semigroup associated with such a band is a strong possibility.

In this paper, the following abstract class of bands B is described:

i) every principal ideal of B is an ω-chain,
ii) the maximal semilattice image of B is an ω-chain.

The concrete description of B is given in terms of a group and a function from the group into the set of integers. This characterization is completely determined in so far as semigroups are concerned.

This work was supported by a grant from the Madison College Program of Grants for Faculty Research.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

THE VISITORS OF JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

Francis Bell, Jr., *Rector*
Harrisonburg

Martha S. Grafton, *Vice Rector*
Staunton

Robert L. Dolbeare
Richmond

Nellie L. Long
Edinburg

Walter J. McGraw
Richmond

J. Leonard Mauck
Marion

E. Guy Ridgely
Alexandria

Inez G. Roop
Richmond

James B. Spurlock, Jr.
Richmond

David H. Stovall
Virginia Beach

Winston O. Weaver
Harrisonburg

Alice E. Liggett, *Secretary*

JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY OFFICERS OF ADMINISTRATION

Ronald E. Carrier, Ph.D. ..... *President*

Thomas C. Stanton, D.B.A. ..... *Vice President for Academic Affairs*

William O. Hall, Jr., Ed.D. . *Vice President for Student Affairs*

Ray Sonner, Ed.D. ..... *Vice President for Public Affairs*

Adolph H. Phillips ..... *Vice President for Business Affairs*

Charles G. Caldwell, Ph.D. ..... *Dean, The Graduate School*

John W. Sweigart, Ph.D. .... *Dean, School of Arts & Sciences*

J. William Hanlon, Ph.D. ..... *Dean, School of Business*

Julius B. Roberson, Ed.D. ..... *Dean, School of Education*

Elizabeth M. Finlayson, Ed.D. ..... *Dean, Summer Session*

Mary F. Haban, Ph.D. *Dean of Libraries & Learning Resources*

John P. Mundy, Ph.D. ..... *Director, Administrative Affairs*

The James Madison Journal is the successor to the Madison College Studies and Research Bulletin. The name change coincides with the 1977 change in name of the institution to James Madison University.

The Journal, an annual publication, consists of articles written by the James Madison University faculty. Unless otherwise indicated, this is the first publication of these articles. Requests for permission to reprint *Journal* articles should be addressed directly to the authors.